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# MATH VAB MATHONWY

AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE FOURTH BRANCH OF THE MABINOGI  
WITH THE TEXT AND A TRANSLATION

BY  
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## PREFACE

IN the year 1909, during a period of what now seems an incredible optimism, I planned a work on the Arthurian Legend and its Welsh origins. After more than a year's toil I came to the conclusion that man's allotment of years was a matter which I had not sufficiently considered. So I curtailed my ambition, and towards the end of 1910 began to confine my study to the Mabinogion and Romances contained in the *Red Book of Hergest*. I soon found that my estimate was again at fault, and thus I came to the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*. I thought that this whole matter could be disposed of in one volume, but after a tentative sketch of an essay on the first Branch, *Pwyll*, I knew that the Mabinogion would have to be dealt with one by one. The following study of *Math* is therefore the first portion of a full inquiry into the origins and development of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, which I hope to publish later.

Before the war drew me away from my studies, I had already in my head what I considered a clear and logical plan of treatment. When I came back to my books in 1919, I failed to envisage my task with that same clearness, and the delay in bringing out this work is almost altogether due to my protracted attempts to recapture it. The conclusions and my method of arriving at them remained in my memory ; the presentation of those conclusions and their advocacy had become dim and uncertain.

In the hope that some at least of my readers will condescend to take the unusual trouble of reading a Preface, I wish to state in a few words what I have attempted and what I have not attempted to do. My object was to find out, if possible, the key to the interpretation of the extremely difficult story of *Math vab Mathonwy*. I trust that I have been able to demonstrate what manner of legends underlie that complex, and the

probable method—if indeed it can be so called—by which those legends were interwoven. I have not hesitated to comment here and there on matters that do not lie strictly in my province (as for example the *Note on Some Misericords*), when I judged that such comments might be an addition to knowledge. What I have not attempted is an anthropological study of the legend, or a comparison with similar legends in non-Celtic countries, except when such a comparison was necessary to the elucidation of the problem. The general theme has been touched upon in Dr. Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*. That famous work however suffers a little from the occasional inability of the author to see the wood for the trees. I make this remark not because I wish to pass the slightest criticism on a scholar of Dr. Hartland's great reputation, but as a reason for not having profited by his book.

The question might well be asked,—why disentangle the different legends underlying the mabinogi, if no comment or explanation of those legends is attempted? I would answer that question by saying, first, that I am not an anthropologist; secondly, that my object is to make a contribution to the understanding of the Celtic element, which, as I hope later to prove, underlies the Arthurian Legend; thirdly, that I consider it a pathetic waste of time to try to build theories upon the contents of the mabinogion before it is even dimly apprehended what those contents actually are. I have therefore, in one instance only, that of *The King and his Foot-Holder*, outlined a possible anthropological explanation in order to show how far even a competent scholar would err, if he attempted to take the mabinogion in their present form as evidence upon which to build a general theory. If I may state an opinion, for what it is worth, on the excellent work done by Americans on the Arthurian Legend, I find that some of it suffers badly from the lack of a preliminary investigation of the material on which their conclusions are based.

A word is necessary on the translation lest, on seeing it, those readers faint who have been trained in the traditional manner of translating the Classics. Lady Charlotte Guest had translated the *Mabinogion* into admirable English, and M. Joseph Loth into equally admirable French, but neither translation aimed at literalness. I have set myself the task of frankly providing a mere "crib," keeping as near as possible to the very idiom of the Welsh, though the result should be a particularly atrocious form of Welsh-English. I have not commented on the few instances where I judge Lady Charlotte Guest and M. Loth to be in error ; a comparison of the present translation with theirs will in itself provide that commentary. The notes following the translation are not meant to be exhaustive ; I have simply used them as a dumping-ground for minor comments which could not be fitted into any section of the main work.

There are undoubtedly many learned works, bearing on the theme which underlies *Math*, which possibly I ought to have read, and which might have put me right on many points, but in such an inquiry as this, the very mistakes of the inquirer are sometimes useful. At least, it is important that the path along which he travels towards his conclusions should not be marked out by any preconceived notions. The points on which I disagree with other inquirers may be suggestive to the student ; the points on which I agree will be the more amply confirmed in that they have been independently discovered. When I embarked on my investigations, I had no idea what I should find or what my conclusions would be ; a great part of this work is therefore a kind of thinking aloud.

In conclusion, I have to thank many friends for help. In particular I wish to name my friend and colleague, Professor Cyril Brett, who, from the days when we were undergraduates at Oxford, has always willingly placed his vast knowledge at my service. To Professor Ifor Williams of the University

College, Bangor, I am indebted for valuable suggestions, a few of which are acknowledged in the text, and to Professor R. S. Loomis of Columbia University, for suggestions and great encouragement. I wish to thank my colleague Professor Theodore H. Robinson who, with his great knowledge of Semitic matters, has helped me and put me right on more than one occasion. Professor J. Lloyd Jones of Dublin and Professor Henry Lewis of Swansea read the work in manuscript and made many valuable suggestions on points of philology ; the former freely supplied me with extracts from his glossarial index to the old poetry. My wife has been of great assistance in the later stages of my study, and it is right that I should record my obligation to her as well as to others. I cannot conclude the list without mentioning my old teacher, the late Sir John Rhys, Principal of Jesus College and Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford, whose pioneer work on the stuff of the Mabinogion, in particular his comparisons of Welsh themes with Irish, has made such a work as this possible.

June, 1927.

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## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

*hon yw y bedwarded geinc or mabinogi*

Math uab Mathonwy oed arglwyd ar Wyned, a Phryderi<sup>2</sup> uab Pwyll oed arglwyd ar vn cantref ar hugeint<sup>3</sup> yn y Deheu. (Sef oed y rei hynny, seith cantref Dyuet a seith cantref<sup>4</sup> Morgannhwc<sup>5</sup> a<sup>6</sup> phedwar<sup>7</sup> cantref<sup>4</sup> Keredigyawn<sup>8</sup> a thri Ystrat Tywi.) Ac yn yr oes<sup>9</sup> honno<sup>10</sup> Math uab Mathonwy ny bydei vyw namyn tra uei y deutroet<sup>11</sup> ymlyc croth morwyn, onyt kynnwryf<sup>12</sup> ryuel ae llesteirei. Sef oed<sup>13</sup> yn uorwyn y<sup>14</sup> gyt ac ef, Goewin uerch Pebin o Dol Pebin yn Aruon, a honno teckaf morwyn oed yn y hoes or a wydit yno. Ac ynteu yg Kaer Dathyl yn Aruon yd oed y wastatrwyd. Ac ny allei gylchu y wlat namyn Giluathwy<sup>15</sup> uab Don ac<sup>16</sup> Eueyd<sup>17</sup> uab Don o<sup>18</sup> nyeint ueibon y chwaer, ar teulu gyt ac wy y gylchu y wlat drostaw.<sup>19</sup> Ar uorwyn oed gyt a Math yn wastat. Ac ynteu Giluaethwy uab Don a dodes y vryt ar y uorwyn, ae charu hyt na wydyt<sup>20</sup> beth a wnaei<sup>21</sup> am danei<sup>22</sup>. Ac yn hynny<sup>23</sup> nachaf y liw ae wed ae ansawd yn atueilaw oe charyat hyt nat oed hawd y adnabot. Sef a wnaeth Gwydyon<sup>60</sup> y urawt<sup>24</sup> synnyeit<sup>25</sup> dydgweith arnaw yn graf. “A<sup>26</sup> was,” heb ef, “pa deryw itti<sup>27</sup>?” “Paham,” heb ynteu, “beth a wely di arnaf i?” “Gwelaf arnat,” heb ef, “colli ohonat<sup>28</sup> dy bryt ath liw a pha deryw itti<sup>29</sup>?” “Arglwyd vrawt,” heb ef, “yr hyn a deryw ymi ny ffrwytha<sup>30</sup> y mi<sup>31</sup> y adef y neb.” “Beth yw hynny, eneit?” heb ef. “Ti a wdost,” heb ynteu, “kynnedyf<sup>32</sup> Math uab Mathonwy,—ba hustyng

NOTE. *Usually the proper names in the MSS. have no capital. W has generally oy for what is in R written oe, and ay for the ae in R.* <sup>1</sup> W omits the title. <sup>2</sup> W pryderi <sup>3</sup> W ugeint <sup>4</sup> W omits cantref <sup>5</sup> R morganhwc <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> R pedwar <sup>8</sup> W Kyredigyawn <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> R amser hwnnw <sup>11</sup> W deudroed <sup>12</sup> W kynwryf. <sup>13</sup> R yd oed <sup>14</sup> W omits <sup>15</sup> R has e written above the word so as to read giluaethwy. <sup>16</sup> W a <sup>17</sup> W euyd <sup>18</sup> R y <sup>19</sup> R drosdaw, a later method of writing the combination st <sup>20</sup> W wydat <sup>21</sup> W wney <sup>22</sup> W ymdanei <sup>23</sup> W omits yn hynny <sup>24</sup> W vrawd <sup>25</sup> R synnyeit <sup>26</sup> R Ha. <sup>27</sup> W ytti <sup>28</sup> W omits ohonat <sup>29</sup> W y ti <sup>30</sup> W frwytha <sup>31</sup> R im <sup>32</sup> R kynedyf



*This is the fourth branch of the Mabinogi*

MATH SON OF MATHONWY was lord over Gwynedd, and Pryderi son of Pwyll was lord over twenty one cantrevs in the South. (These were the seven cantrevs of Dyved and the seven cantrevs of Morgannwg and the four cantrevs of Ceredigion and the three of Ystrad Tywi.)\* And in that age† Math son of Mathonwy might not live‡ but while his feet were in the fold of a virgin's womb,§ unless the commotion of war were hindering him. She who was maiden with him was Goewin daughter of Pebin from Dôl Bebin in Arvon, and she was the fairest maiden of her age¶ of those then known. And as for him, it was in Caer Dathal in Arvon that his permanent abode was. And no one could make a circuit of the country except Gilvathwy son of Dôn, and Eveydd son of Dôn of his nephews, his sister's sons, and the house-host with them to make a circuit of the country in his stead. And the maiden was with Math permanently. And he, Gilvaethwy son of Dôn, set his mind on the maiden, and loved her so that he knew not what he should do concerning her. And thereupon, behold his colour and his mien and his form faded from love of her so that it were not easy to recognise him. This is what Gwydion his brother did, he looked at him keenly upon a day. "Youth," said he, "what has befallen thee?" "Why," said he then, "what seest thou on me?" "I see on thee," said he, "that thou hast lost thy looks and thy colour, and what has befallen thee?" "Lord brother," said he, "that which has befallen me, it profits me not to make known to anyone." "What is that, soul?" said he. "Thou knowest," said he then, "the quality of Math son of Mathonwy; whatever whisper,

\* Probably a gloss. † RB, in that time. ‡ Or, would not be alive. § i.e. in a virgin's lap. ¶ i.e. in her time.

bynnac yr y uychanet a uo<sup>33</sup> y rwng dynnyon<sup>34</sup> or y kyfarffo y gwynt<sup>35</sup> ac ef, ef ae gwybyd.”<sup>36</sup> “Ie,” heb y Gwydyon<sup>60</sup>, “taw di bellach ; mi a wnn dy uedwl di, caru Goewin yd wyt ti.” Sef a wnaeth ynteu yna, pan wybu ef adnabot oe urawt y uedwl, dod i ucheneit dromhaf yn y byt. “Taw, eneit, ath ucheneidaw,” heb ef, “nyt o hynny y goruydir. Minheu a baraf,” heb ef, “kany ellir heb hynny, dyguori Gwyned a Phowys a Deheubarth y geissaw y uorwyn. A byd lawen di, a mi ae paraf itt<sup>37</sup>.”

Ac ar hynny att<sup>38</sup> Uath uab Mathonwy yd aethant wy. “Arglwyd,” heb y Gwydyon<sup>60</sup>, “mi a gicleu dyuot yr Deheu y ryw bryuet<sup>39</sup> ny doeth yr ynys honn eiryoet<sup>40</sup>.” “Pwy eu<sup>41</sup> henw hwy ?”<sup>42</sup> heb ef. “Hobeu, arglwyd.” “Pa ryw anieileit yw y rei hynny ?” “Anieileit bychein gwell<sup>43</sup> eu kic no chic eidon.” (Bychein ynt wynteu, ac y maent yn symudaw enweu, moch y gelwir weithon). “Pwy biewynt hwy<sup>42</sup> ?” “Pryderi uab Pwyll yd anuonet idaw o Annwn y gan Arawn vrenhin Annwn.” (Ac etwa<sup>44</sup> yd ys yn cadw or enw hwnnw, (hanner hwch) ‘hannerhob’). “Ie,” heb ynteu, “ba ffury<sup>45</sup> y keffir wy y gantaw ef<sup>46</sup> ?” “Mi a af<sup>47</sup> ar vyn deudecuet yn rith beird, arglwyd, i erchi y moch.” “Ef a ryeill ych neckau<sup>48</sup>,” heb ynteu. “Nyt<sup>49</sup> drwc vyn trawscwyd<sup>50</sup> i, arglwyd,” heb ef, “ny deua<sup>51</sup> i heb y moch.” “Yn<sup>52</sup> llawen,” heb ynteu, “kerda ragot.”

Ef a aeth a Gilvathwy<sup>53</sup> a degwyr<sup>54</sup> gyt ac wynt hyt yg Keredig-yawn<sup>55</sup> yn y lle a elwir Rudlan Teiui yr awrhonn, yn y lle yd oed llys y Pryderi. Ac yn rith beird y doethant y mywn, a llawen uuwy<sup>56</sup> wrthunt. Ar neill law Pryderi y gossodet Gwydyon y nos honno. “Ie,” heb y Pryderi, “da oed genhym<sup>57</sup> ni kael<sup>58</sup> kyvarwydyt gan rei or gwyreeinc<sup>59</sup> racko.” “Moes yw genhym<sup>57</sup> ni, arglwyd,” heb y Gwydyon,<sup>60</sup> “y nos gyntaf y delher att<sup>61</sup> wr mawr, dywedut or pennkerd<sup>62</sup> ; mi a dywedaf gyuarwydyt yn llawen.” Ynteu Wydyon goreu kyuarwyd yn y byt oed. Ar nos honno didanu y llys a wnaeth

33 W or auo 34 R dynyon 35 W kyuarfo y guynt [f=ff].  
 36 W gwybyd 37 W yt 38 W at 39 R prycet 40 W eiroet 41 R y  
 42 W wy 43 W guell 44 R ettwa 45 W furuf 46 R omits ef 47 R mi af  
 48 W necau 49 W Nit 50 R trawsgwyd 51 W doaf 52 W En 53 R  
 gilvaethwy 54 W deguyr 55 W ygheredigyawn 56 R uuwyvt, W uuant  
 57 R gennym 58 W cahel 59 W gwreinc 60 W guydyon 61 W at  
 62 W penkerd

however small, that may be between men, if the wind has met it, he will know it." "Yes," said Gwydion, "say no more; \* I know thy mind, thou lovest Goewin." This is what he did then, when he knew that his brother had seen his mind, he gave the heaviest groan in the world. "Cease, soul, from thy groaning," said he, "it is not by that that we shall win. And I," said he, "will bring about, since it is not possible without it, the mustering of Gwynedd and Powys and the Southland to get the maiden. And be thou joyful, and I will bring it about for thee."

And thereupon, to Math son of Mathonwy they went. "Lord," said Gwydion, "I have heard that there has come to the South a kind of small beasts that have never come to this island." "What is their name?" said he. "Hobeu,† lord." "What manner of animals are those?" "Small animals, the flesh of which is better than flesh of ox. (Small they are, and they change names, it is "moch"‡ that they are called now). "To whom do they belong?" "To Pryderi son of Pwyll, to whom they were sent from Annwvn by Arawn, king of Annwvn. (And to this day we keep of that name "hannerhob,"§ —half a pig.) "Yes," said he, "in what manner may they be obtained from him?" "I will go, one of twelve, in the guise of bards, lord, to ask for the swine." "He may refuse you," said he. "Not bad is my bargaining,¶ lord," said he, "I will not come without the swine." "Gladly," said he, "go forth."

He went with Gilvathwy and ten men with them as far as Ceredigion, in the place that is nowadays called Rhuddlan Teivi,\*\* where Pryderi had a court. And in the guise of bards they entered, and joyfully were they received. On Pryderi's one hand was placed Gwydion that night. "Yes," said Pryderi, "glad should we be to have a *cyvarwyddyd*†† from some of the gentlemen yonder." "It is our custom, lord," said Gwydion, "on the first night that we come to a nobleman, that the chief bard should speak; I will gladly tell a *cyvarwyddyd*." And he, Gwydion, was the best *cyvarwydd*‡‡ in the world. And that night he entertained the court with joyous talks

\* Lit. be silent henceforth. † Hob, "pig"; pl. *hobeu*. ‡ *moch*, "swine," sing. *mochyn*, the usual name throughout Wales. For the glosses inserted in this passage see *Notes*. § flitch. ¶ i.e. "business ability"; lit. "transaction." \*\* "The Red Bank of Teivi." †† a tale, *conte*. ‡‡ *raconteur*.

ar ymdidaneu digrif a chyvarwydyt yn y oed hoff gan bawp<sup>63</sup> or llys ac yn didan gan Pryderi ymdidan ac ef. Ac ar diwed hynny, “Arglwyd,” heb ef, “ae gwell<sup>64</sup> y gwna neb uy neges i wrthyt ti no miui<sup>65</sup> uy<sup>66</sup> hun?” “Na well,” heb ynteu, “tauawt llawn<sup>67</sup> da yw y teu di.” “Llyma<sup>68</sup> vy neges inheu, arglwyd,” heb ef, “ymadolwyn a thidi am yr anieueileit a anuonet itt o Annwvyn.” “Ie,” heb ynteu, “hawssaf yn y byt oed hynny by na<sup>69</sup> bei ammot y rof am gwlat am danunt, sef yw hynny, nat elhont<sup>70</sup> y genhyf<sup>71</sup> nny hilyont eu deu kymeint yn y wlat.” “Arglwyd,” heb ynteu, “minheu<sup>72</sup> a allaf dy rydhau ditheu or geireu hynny; sef ual y gallaf,—na dyro ym y moch heno, ac na naccaa<sup>73</sup> ui ohonunt; auory minheu<sup>72</sup> a dangossaf gyfnewit am danunt wy.” Ar nos honno yd aethant<sup>74</sup> ef ae gedym-deithon yr<sup>75</sup> lletty ar y kynghor. “A wyr,” heb ef, “ni chawn ni<sup>76</sup> y moch oc eu herchi.” “Ie,” heb wynteu,<sup>77</sup> “pa drawscwyd<sup>78</sup> y keir wynteu?” “Mi a baraf eu kael,” heb y Gwydyon.<sup>60</sup> Ac yna yd aeth ef yn y geluydodeu, ac y dechreuawd<sup>79</sup> dangos y hut, ac yd hudwys deudec emys a deudec milgi bronnwyn<sup>80</sup> du bob<sup>81</sup> un ohonunt a deudec torch a deudec kynllyuan arnunt, a neb or ae<sup>82</sup> gwelei<sup>83</sup> ny wydyat<sup>84</sup> na bydynt<sup>85</sup> eur, a deudec kyfrwy ar y meirch, ac am bob<sup>81</sup> lle oc<sup>86</sup> y dyliei hayarn uot arnunt y bydei eur o gwbyl,<sup>87</sup> ar ffrwyneu<sup>88</sup> yn un weith a hynny. Ar meirch ac ar kwn y doeth ef att Pryderi. “Dyd da itt,<sup>89</sup> arglwyd,” heb ef. “Duw a rodho<sup>90</sup> da itt,”<sup>89</sup> heb ynteu,<sup>91</sup> “a graessaw wrthyt.” “Arglwyd,” heb ef, “llyma rydid ytti<sup>92</sup> am y geir a dywedeist neithwyr am y moch nas rodot ac nas gwerthut; titheu a elly gyfnewit<sup>93</sup> yr a uo gwell.<sup>94</sup> Minheu<sup>95</sup> a rodaf y deudeg meirch hynn ual y maent yn gyweir<sup>96</sup> ac eu kyfrwyau ac eu ffrwyneu,<sup>97</sup> ar deudec milgi ac eu torcheu ac eu kynllyuaneu ual y gwely, ar deudec taryan eureit a wely di racko.” Y rei hynny a rithassei<sup>98</sup> ef or madalch. “Ie,” heb ynteu, “ni a gymerwn gynghor. Sef a gawssant<sup>99</sup> yn y kynghor rodi y moch y<sup>100</sup> Wydyon, a chymryt y meirch ar kwn ar taryaneu y gantaw ynteu. Ac yna y kymerassant<sup>1</sup>

<sup>63</sup> W paub   <sup>64</sup> W guell   <sup>65</sup> W mi   <sup>66</sup> W uu   <sup>67</sup> R, llawnda, W lawn da.  
<sup>68</sup> W Llyna   <sup>69</sup> R pa ny, W byna   <sup>70</sup> W elont   <sup>71</sup> R gennyf   <sup>72</sup> R minneu  
<sup>73</sup> W ac nacaha   <sup>74</sup> W aethont   <sup>75</sup> R y   <sup>76</sup> W chawni   <sup>77</sup> W wynte  
<sup>78</sup> R drawsgwyd   <sup>79</sup> W dechreuawt   <sup>80</sup> W bronnwyn   <sup>81</sup> W pob   <sup>82</sup> W a  
<sup>83</sup> W gwelei   <sup>84</sup> W wydat   <sup>85</sup> R beynt   <sup>86</sup> W omits oc   <sup>87</sup> W bydei  
gwbyl o eur   <sup>88</sup> W frwyneu   <sup>89</sup> W it   <sup>90</sup> W ro   <sup>91</sup> W ef   <sup>92</sup> W yti

and *cyfarwyddyd* so that all in the court wondered, and Pryderi found it joyous to converse with him. And at the end of that, "Lord," said he, "is it better that another can do my errand with thee than I myself?" "Not better," said he, "a full good tongue is thine." "Here is my errand, lord," said he, "to beseech thee for the animals which were sent to thee from Annwn." "Yes," said he, "that would be easiest in the world, were there not a covenant between me and my country concerning them; that is, that they go not from me until they have bred twice their number in the country." "Lord," said he, "I, then, can release thee from those words; and thus can I do it,—do not give me the swine to-night, and do not deny them me. To-morrow I will provide an exchange for them." And that night they went, he and his companions, to the lodging, on their counsel. "Men," said he, "we shall not get the swine by asking for them." "Yes," said they, "by what transaction may they be obtained, then?" "I will cause them to be obtained," said Gwydion. And then he went to his magic arts, and began to exercise his enchantment, and he made by magic twelve steeds and twelve greyhounds, each one of them black with white breasts, and twelve collars with twelve leashes on them, and anyone who saw them would not know that they were not gold, and twelve saddles on the horses, and for every place where iron should be on them, there was gold altogether, and the bridles were wrought in the same way as that. With the horses and with the hounds he came to Pryderi. "A good day to thee, lord," said he. "God give thee good," said he, "and welcome to thee." "Lord," said he, "here is a release for thee in the matter of the word that thou spakest last night concerning the swine that thou wouldst not give them and that thou wouldst not sell them; thou mayest exchange for what is better. And I will give these twelve horses as they are, fully equipped, and their saddles and their bridles, and the twelve greyhounds and their collars and their leashes as thou seest, and the twelve golden shields that thou seest there." Those he had made by magic out of the toadstool. "Yes," said he, "we will take counsel." And they found in their counsel to give the swine to Gwydion, and to accept the steeds and the hounds and the shields from him. And then they took leave, and began to travel with the

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<sup>93</sup> R *gyfnewityaw* <sup>94</sup> W *guell* <sup>95</sup> R *Minneu* <sup>96</sup> W *gyueir* <sup>97</sup> W *frwyneu*  
<sup>98</sup> R *rythassei* <sup>99</sup> R *y kawssant*, W *a gaussant* <sup>100</sup> W *e* <sup>1</sup> W *kymeryssant*

hwy<sup>2</sup> genhat<sup>3</sup> ac y dechreuassant<sup>4</sup> gerdet ar moch. “A geimeit,” heb y Gwydyon<sup>29</sup> “reit yw in gerdet yn bryssur; ny phara yr hut namyn or pryt pwys<sup>5</sup> gilyd.” Ar nos honno y kerdassant<sup>6</sup> hyt yg<sup>7</sup> gwarthaf<sup>7</sup> Keredigyawn, y lle a elwir ettwa<sup>8</sup> or<sup>9</sup> achaws<sup>9</sup> hwnnw<sup>9</sup> Mochtreff.<sup>10</sup> A thrannoeth y kymerassant<sup>11</sup> eu hynt; dros Elenit y doethant, ar nos honno y buant y rwng Keri ac Arwystli yn y dref a elwir heuyt or<sup>9</sup> achaws<sup>9</sup> hwnnw<sup>9</sup> Mochtreff. Ac odynd y kerdassant<sup>12</sup> raddunt, ar nos honno y doethant<sup>13</sup> hyd yg kymwt ym Powys a elwir or ystyr hwnnw heuyt Mochnant, ac yno y buant y nos honno. Ac odynd<sup>14</sup> y kerdassant<sup>12</sup> hyt yg cantref Ros, ac yno y buant y nos honno mywn y<sup>15</sup> dref a elwir ettwa<sup>16</sup> Mochtreff. “Ha wyr,” heb y Gwydyon, “ni a gyrchwn kedernit Gwyned ar anieueileit<sup>17</sup> hynn; yd ys yn lluydaw yn an hol.<sup>18</sup> Sef y kyrchassant<sup>19</sup> y dref uchaf o Arllechwood,<sup>20</sup> ac yno gwneuthur creu yr moch, ac or achaws hwnnw y dodet Creuwryon<sup>21</sup> ar y dref, ac yna gwedy<sup>22</sup> gwneuthur creu yr moch y kyrchassant<sup>19</sup> at Uath uab Mathonwy hyd yg Kaer Dathyl.<sup>23</sup> A phan doethant yno yd oedit yn dygyuori y wlat. “Pa chwedleu yssyd yma?” heb y Gwydyon. “Dygyuor,” heb wy, “y mae Pryderi yn ych ol chwi un cantref ar hugeint<sup>24</sup>; ryued uu hwyret y kerdysawch chwi.”<sup>25</sup> “Mae yr anieueileit<sup>17</sup> yd aethawch yn eu hwysc?” heb y Math. “Y<sup>26</sup> maent gwedy<sup>22</sup> gwneuthur creu udunt yn y cantref arall issot,” heb y Gwydyon.<sup>29</sup> Ar hynny llyma y clywynt yr utkyrn ar dygyuor yn y wlat. Ar hynny gwisaw<sup>27</sup> a wnaethant wynteu a cherdet yny vydant ym Pennard yn Aruon. Ar nos honno yd ymchoeles<sup>28</sup> Gwydyon<sup>29</sup> uab Don a Chiluaethwy<sup>30</sup> y urawt hyt yg Kaer Dathyl, ac y gwelei Uath uab Mathonwy<sup>31</sup> dodi Giluaethwy<sup>32</sup> a Goewin<sup>33</sup> uerch<sup>34</sup> Pebin<sup>34</sup> y gytgyscu<sup>35</sup>, a chymell y morynyon ereill<sup>36</sup> (allan) yn amharchus, a chyscu genti oe hanuod y nos honno. Pan welsant y dyd drannoeth, kyrchu a wnaethant<sup>37</sup> parth ar lle<sup>37</sup> yd oed Math uab Mathonwy ae lu. Pan doethant, yd oed y gwyr<sup>38</sup> hynny yn mynet

<sup>2</sup> W wy   <sup>3</sup> W ganheat   <sup>4</sup> W dechreuassant   <sup>5</sup> R y   <sup>6</sup> W kerdysant  
<sup>7</sup> W ygwarthaf   <sup>8</sup> W etwa   <sup>9</sup> W o achaws hynny   <sup>10</sup> R mochdref  
<sup>11</sup> W kymeryssant   <sup>12</sup> W kerdysant   <sup>13</sup> W yd aethant   <sup>14</sup> W odyndha  
<sup>15</sup> R *omits*   <sup>16</sup> W etwa   <sup>17</sup> R annieueileit   <sup>18</sup> W ol   <sup>19</sup> W kyrchyssant  
<sup>20</sup> R arllechwed   <sup>21</sup> W creuwryon   <sup>22</sup> W guedy   <sup>23</sup> W tathyl   <sup>24</sup> W  
ugeint   <sup>25</sup> W kerdysawchi   <sup>26</sup> W *omits*   <sup>27</sup> W guiscaw   <sup>28</sup> W ymhwelwys  
<sup>29</sup> W gwydyon   <sup>30</sup> R chiluaethwy   <sup>31</sup> R mathonw   <sup>32</sup> R giluaethwy  
<sup>33</sup> W goewyn   <sup>34</sup> R *omits*   <sup>35</sup> W y gyscu y gyt   <sup>36</sup> W *omits*

swine. "Comrades," said Gwydion, "it is necessary that we should travel in haste; the magic will not last but from one time to the other."\* And that night they travelled as far as the uplands of Ceredigion, the place that is still called for that reason Mochtreu.† And on the morrow they set out on their journey; over Elenydd they came, and that night they remained between Ceri and Arwystli in the *trev*‡ that is also called for that reason Mochtreu. And thence they travelled onwards, and that night they came as far as a commote in Powys that also is called, for that reason, Mochnant,§ and there they remained that night. And thence they travelled as far as the cantrev of Rhos, and there they remained that night in the *trev* that is still called Mochtreu. "Men," said Gwydion, "we will make for the fastness of Gwynedd with these animals; there is a hosting on our track." The place they made for was the highest *trev* of Arllechwedd, and there they made a sty for the swine, and for that reason was Creuwyrion¶ placed\*\* on the *trev*, and then after making a sty for the swine they made their way to Math son of Mathonwy as far as Caer Dathal. And when they came there, they were mustering the country. "What news is here?" said Gwydion. "Pryderi," said they, "is mustering on your track one and twenty cantrevs; it is strange how slowly you travelled." "Where are the animals that you went after?" said Math. "They have had a sty made for them in the other cantrev below," said Gwydion. Thereupon, they heard now the trumpets and the mustering in the country. Thereupon they arrayed themselves and went forth until they were in Pennardd in Arvon. And that night Gwydion son of Dôn and Gilvathwy his brother returned as far as Caer Dathal, and Math son of Mathonwy saw Gilvathwy and Goewin daughter of Pebin placed to sleep together, and the other maidens were despitely forced (out), and she was slept with against her will that night. When they saw the day on the morrow, they journeyed to the place where Math son of Mathonwy and his host were. When they came, those men were

\* i.e. for twenty-four hours. † = Swinerton. ‡ Now means "town," but in the Laws, as here, a "township," a political and economic unit. § i.e. Swine-brook, or Swine-dale. ¶ The first element is taken as *creu*, "sty." \*\* The *trev* was named Creuwyrion.

37 R wnaethant y lle 38 W guyr

y gymryt kynghor<sup>39</sup> pa du<sup>40</sup> yd arhoent Pryderi a gwyr<sup>38</sup> y Deheu, ac ar y kynghor<sup>39</sup> y doethant wynteu. Sef a gawssant<sup>41</sup> yn eu kynghor<sup>42</sup> aros yg kedernit Gwyned yn Aruon, ac yg kymherued<sup>43</sup> y dwy uawr<sup>44</sup> yd arhoet<sup>45</sup>, maenawr<sup>46</sup> Pennard<sup>47</sup> a maenawr<sup>46</sup> Coet Alun. A Phryderi<sup>48</sup> ae kyrchwys yno wynt, ac yno y bu y gyfranc ac y llas lladua uawr o bop<sup>49</sup> parth ac y bu reit y wyr y Deheu enkil. Sef lle yd enkilyassant<sup>50</sup>, hyt y lle elwir ettwa<sup>51</sup> Nant Call, a hyt yno yd ymlitywyts<sup>52</sup>, ac yna y bu yr aerua<sup>53</sup> diuessur<sup>54</sup> y meint.

Yna y kiliassant<sup>55</sup> hyt y lle a elwir Dol Pennmaen, ac yna clymu a wnaethant, a cheissaw ymdangneuedu<sup>56</sup>. A gwystlaw a wnaeth Pryderi ar y dangneued<sup>57</sup>, sef a<sup>58</sup> wystlwys<sup>59</sup> Gwrgi Gwastra<sup>60</sup> ar y bedwryd<sup>61</sup> ar hugeint<sup>62</sup> o veibon<sup>63</sup> gwyrda.<sup>64</sup> A gwedy<sup>65</sup> hynny kerdet ohonunt yn eu tangneued hyt y Traeth Mawr, ac ual [. . .] y gyt ac y doethant hyt y Uelenryt, y pedyt ny ellit eu reoli o ymsaethu. Gyrru kennadeu o Pryderi y erchi gwahard<sup>66</sup> y deulu, ac erchi gadu yrygtaw<sup>67</sup> ef a Gwydyon<sup>68</sup> uab Don, kanys<sup>69</sup> ef a barysei hynny. Att<sup>70</sup> Uath<sup>71</sup> uab Mathonwy y doeth y gennat.<sup>72</sup> "Dioer," heb y kennadeu "tec,<sup>73</sup> med Pryderi, oed yr gwr a wnaeth hynn o<sup>74</sup> gam<sup>74</sup> idaw<sup>74</sup> dodi y gorff<sup>85</sup> yn erbyn y gorff<sup>75</sup> ynteu, a gadu y deulu yn segur." "Ie" heb y Math, "y rof<sup>76</sup> i a Duw, os da gan Wydyon uab Don, mi ae gadaf." [*Att Wydyon uab Don yd aethant wynteu, a menegi idaw hynny*]. "Yn llawen," [*heb y Gwydyon*] ny chymellaf inheu<sup>77</sup> ar neb vynet y<sup>78</sup> ymlad dros wneuthur ohanam<sup>79</sup> ninheu<sup>80</sup> an gallu. Dygaf y duw uyg kyffes nat archaf<sup>81</sup> y<sup>82</sup> wyr Gwyned ymlad drossof i, a minheu<sup>83</sup> uy hun yn kael ymlad a Phryderi. Mivi<sup>84</sup> a dodaf uyg korff<sup>85</sup> yn erbyn y eidaw yn llawen."<sup>86</sup> A hynny a anuonet at Pryderi.

39 R kyngor 40 W ba tu 41 W gaussant 42 R kygor 43 R kymperued  
44 W uaynawr 45 W arhoed 46 W maynawr 47 W bennard  
48 W phyderi, R phyderi *with the r written above the line*  
49 W pop 50 W enkilyssant 51 W etwa 52 W ymlidywyd 53 W  
ayrua 54 W diueuessur 55 R kiliassa, W kilyssant 56 R tangneuedu  
57 W tangneued 58 R y 59 R gwystlwys 60 W gwastra 61 W  
pedwryd 62 W ugeint *In R h written above line* 63 W ueibyon  
64 W guyrda 65 W guedy 66 W guahard 67 W yryngtaw  
68 W guydyon 69 W canys 70 W at 71 W math 72 W genhat  
73 W teg 74 W idaw ef o gam 75 W eidaw 76 W erof 77 R ynneu  
78 W e 79 R ohonom 80 R ninneu 91 W archafi 82 R i 83 R minneu  
84 W mi 85 W gorf, korf 86 *The order in both W and R is: At Uath uab*



going to take counsel in what place they should await Pryderi and the men of the South, and upon that council they came. This is what they found by their counsel, to await in the fastness of Gwynedd in Arvon, and in the midmost part of the two manors they awaited, the manor of Pennardd and the manor of Coed Alun. And Pryderi attacked them there, and it was in that place that the fight was, and there was a great slaughter on both sides, and the men of the South were forced to retreat. And the place to which they retreated is the place that is still called Nant Call, and as far as there were they pursued, and it was then that the fight, immeasurably great, was fought.

Then they retreated as far as the place that is called Dôl Benmaen and then they rallied and sought to make peace. And Pryderi gave hostages on the peace, and the hostages he gave were Gwrgi Gwastra, one of twenty-four sons of noblemen. And after that they marched in their peace as far as Traeth Mawr, and as [...] together, and they came as far as Y Velenryd, the foot-soldiers could not be restrained from shooting at each other. Pryderi sent messengers to order the two hosts\* to be forbidden, and to bid it to be left between him and Gwydion son of Dôn, since it was he who had caused that. To Math son of Mathonwy came the messengers.† “In truth,” said the messengers, “Pryderi says that it were fair that the man who wrought him this injury should place his body against his own body, and leave the two hosts unconcerned.” “Yes,” said Math, “between me and God, if it please Gwydion son of Dôn, I will allow it.” [To Gwydion son of Dôn they went, and told him that]. “Gladly,” [said Gwydion,] “I for my part will not constrain anyone to go to fight instead of our doing‡ what we can. I bring to God my confession that I will not bid the men of Gwynedd fight for me, as long as I myself may fight with Pryderi. I will place my body against his gladly.” And that was sent to Pryderi.

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\*Or, less probably, his house-host. †Cennad like Fr. *génie*, &c., is feminine and collective; it may also denote one messenger or more. ‡Or, as long as we can do.

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mathonwy y doeth y gennat. Ie heb y math . . . ae gadaf yn llawen ni chymellaf inheu . . . an gallu. Dioer heb y kennadeu tec med pryderi . . . yn segur. Dygaf y duw . . . y eidaw un llawen.

"Ie," heb y Pryderi, "nyt<sup>87</sup> archaf inheu y neb govyn vy iawn namyn my hun." Y<sup>88</sup> gwyr hynny a neilltuwyt, ac a dechreuwyd gwiscau am<sup>89</sup> danunt, ac ymlad a wnaethant. Ac o nerth grym ac angerd a hut a lletrith, Gwydyon<sup>68</sup> a<sup>90</sup> orvu<sup>90</sup> a Phryderi a las. Ac y Maen Tyryawc<sup>91</sup> uch y Uelenryt<sup>92</sup> y cladwyt. (Ac yno y mae<sup>93</sup> y ued). Gwyr y Deheu a gerdassant ac argan truan gantunt<sup>94</sup> parth ae<sup>95</sup> gwlat, ac nyt<sup>96</sup> oed<sup>97</sup> ryued<sup>98</sup>; eu harglwyd a gollyssynt a llawer oc eu goreu-gwyr<sup>99</sup>, ac eu meirch ac eu harueu gan mwyaf. Gwyr Gwyned a ymchoeles<sup>200</sup> dracheuyn yn llawen orawenus. "Arglwyd," heb y Gwydyon<sup>68</sup> wrth Uath, "ponyt oed iawn ynni ellwng<sup>1</sup> eu dylydawc<sup>2</sup> y wyr y Deheu a wystlyssant inni<sup>3</sup> ar tangneued, ac ny dylywn y garcharu." "Rydhaer ynteu," heb y Math. Ar gwas<sup>4</sup> hwnnw ar gwystlon as oed gyt ae ef a ellyngwyt yn ol gwyr<sup>6</sup> y Deheu.

Ynteu<sup>7</sup> Math a gyrchwys Kaer Dathyl<sup>8</sup>. Giluaethwy<sup>9</sup> uab Don ar teulu a uuassynt gyt ac ef a gyrchassant<sup>10</sup> y gylchaw Gwyned mal y gnotayssynt, a heb gyrchu y llys. Ynteu<sup>7</sup> Uath a gyrchwys y<sup>11</sup> ystauell, ac a beris kyweiraw lle idaw y benelinyaw ual y kaffe<sup>12</sup> dodi y draet ym plyn croth y uorwyn. "Arglwyd," heb y Goewyn, "keis uorwyn a uo is dy draet; weithon gwreic wyf i." "Pa ystyr yw hynny?" heb ef<sup>13</sup>. "Kyrch, arglwyd, a doeth am vym penn a hynny yn diargel<sup>14</sup>, ac ny buum<sup>15</sup> distaw inheu; ny bu yn y llys neb<sup>16</sup> nys gwypei<sup>17</sup>; sef kyrch<sup>18</sup> a doeth, dy nyeint ueibon dy chwaer, arglwyd,—Gwydyon uab Don a Giluaethwy uab Don,—a threis arnaf a orugant a chywilyd<sup>19</sup> y titheu, a chyscu a wnaethpwynt genhyf, a hynny yth<sup>20</sup> ystauell ac yth<sup>20</sup> wely di." "Ie," heb ynteu, "yr hynn a allaf i,<sup>21</sup> mi ae gwnaf<sup>22</sup>. Mi a baraf itt gael iawn<sup>23</sup> yn gyntaf. Ac yn ol vy iawn y bydaf inheu, a thitheu," heb ef, "mi ath gymeraf yn wreic im. ac a rodaf uedyant vyg kyuoeth yth<sup>24</sup> law ditheu."

Ac yn hynny ny doethant wy yg kyuyll y llys, namyn trigyaw y gylchaw y wlat a wnaethant yny aeth gwahard<sup>25</sup> udunt ar y bwyt ae llynn.<sup>26</sup> Yn gyntaf, ny doethant hwy<sup>27</sup> yn y gyuyll ef; yna y

<sup>87</sup> W nit    <sup>88</sup> W E    <sup>89</sup> R ym    <sup>90</sup> R omits    <sup>91</sup> R W tyuyawc  
<sup>92</sup> W uelen ryd    <sup>93</sup> W may    <sup>94</sup> W ganthunt    <sup>95</sup> W ac eu  
<sup>96</sup> W nit    <sup>97</sup> R omits    <sup>98</sup> R edryued    <sup>99</sup> W goreuguyr    <sup>200</sup> W ymchweles  
<sup>1</sup> W ollwng    <sup>2</sup> W dylydauc    <sup>3</sup> W in    <sup>4</sup> W guas    <sup>5</sup> W omits    <sup>6</sup> W  
guyr    <sup>7</sup> W Enteu    <sup>8</sup> W tathyl    <sup>9</sup> R gilaethwy    <sup>10</sup> W gyrchyssant    <sup>11</sup> W e  
<sup>12</sup> W carei    <sup>13</sup> W omits    heb ef    <sup>14</sup> R dirgel    <sup>15</sup> R bum    <sup>16</sup> W omits

"Yes," said Pryderi, "I too will not bid anyone demand my atonement save myself." Those men were set apart, and they began to array them, and they fought. And by force of strength and violence and magic and enchantment, Gwydion conquered, and Pryderi was killed. And in Maen Twrog above Y Velenryd was he buried. (And there is his grave). The men of the South went with woeful keening towards their country, and it was no wonder; they had lost their lord, and many of their nobles, and their horses, and their arms for the most part. The men of Gwynedd returned joyful and jubilant. "Lord," said Gwydion to Math, "were it not right that we should release their chieftain to the men of the South, whom they gave as hostage to us for peace?—and we ought not to keep him in prison." "Let him be released then," said Math. And that youth and the hostages that were with him were released to follow the men of the South.

And he, Math, went to Caer Dathal. Gilvaethwy son of Dôn and the house-host who had been with him departed to make a circuit of Gwynedd, as they had been wont to do, and came not to the court. And he, Math, went to his chamber, and bade a place to be set out for him to recline that he might place his feet in the maiden's lap. "Lord," said Goewyn, "seek a maiden to be under thy feet; I am a woman now." "What is the meaning of that?" said he. "An attack, lord, came upon me, and that without concealment, and I, for my part, was not silent; there was no one in the court who knew it not; and this was the attack that came, thy nephews, thy sister's sons, lord, Gwydion son of Dôn and Gilvaethwy son of Dôn, and a rape upon me they wrought and shame to thyself, and I was slept with, and that in thy chamber and in thy bed." "Yes," said he, "what I can I will do. I will cause thee to have atonement first. And in pursuit of my atonement will I, too, be, and as for thee," said he, "I will take thee to be my wife, and will place the possession of my realm in thy hand."

And in that time they came not near the court, but they remained to make a circuit of the country, until an order went forth prohibiting them their food and their drink. First, they did not come near him;

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<sup>17</sup> W guypei <sup>18</sup> W omits <sup>19</sup> R chewilyd <sup>20</sup> W ith <sup>21</sup> R omits <sup>22</sup> W omits mi ae gwnaf <sup>23</sup> W reads mi a baraf iawn yti <sup>24</sup> W ith <sup>25</sup> W guahard <sup>26</sup> R llyn <sup>27</sup> W wy

doethant wy<sup>28</sup> attaw ef. "Arglwyd," heb wynt, "dyd da it." "Ie," heb ynteu, "ae y<sup>29</sup> wneuthur iawn ymi y doethawch<sup>30</sup> chwi?" "Arglwyd, yth<sup>31</sup> ewyllys<sup>32</sup> yd ydym." "Bei vy ewyllys<sup>33</sup> ny chollwn o wyr ac arueu a golleis; vyg kywilyd<sup>34</sup> ny ellwch chwi y dalu y mi heb agheu<sup>35</sup> Pryderi; a chan doethawch<sup>30</sup> chwitheu ym ewyllys<sup>32</sup> ynheu,<sup>36</sup> mi a dechreuaf boen arnawch." Ac yna y kymerth y<sup>37</sup> hutlath, ac y trewis Giluaethwy<sup>38</sup> yny uyd yn<sup>39</sup> daran ewic, ac achub y llall a wnaeth yn gyflym, kyt mynhei<sup>40</sup> dianc nys gallei, ae daraw<sup>41</sup> ar un hutlath yny uyd yn garw. "Kany's ywch yn rwymedigaeth, mi a wna'f ywch gerdet y gyt, ach bot yn gymaredic, ac yn un anyan ar gwyduilot yd ywch yn eu rith, ac yn yr amser y bo etiued udunt hwy,<sup>42</sup> y uot y<sup>43</sup> chwitheu;<sup>43</sup> a blwydyn y hediw dowch yma attaf<sup>44</sup> i." Ym penn y<sup>45</sup> ulwydyn or vndyd, llyma y klywei odorun a dan paret yr ystauell, a chyfuarthua<sup>46</sup> cwn y llys am benn<sup>47</sup> y godorun. "Edrych," heb ynteu [*wrth vn oe weissan*], "beth yssyd allan." "Arglwydd" heb yr<sup>48</sup> vn "mia<sup>49</sup> edrycheis<sup>50</sup>; y<sup>51</sup> mae yna<sup>52</sup> carw ac ewic ac elein gyt ac wynt." Ac ar hynny, kyuodi a oruc ynteu a dyuot allan, a phan doeth, sef y gweleis<sup>53</sup> y trillydyn; sef trillydyn oedynt,<sup>54</sup> carw ac ewic ac elein kryf. Sef a wnaeth ef, dyrchauel<sup>55</sup> y<sup>56</sup> hutlath.<sup>57</sup> "Yr hwnn a uu ohonawch yn ewic yrllyned, bit uaed coet eleni, ar hwnn a vu garw ohonauch<sup>58</sup> yrllyned<sup>59</sup>, bit garken eleni." Ac ar hynny eu taraw ar hutlath. "Y mab hagen a gymeraf i, ac a baraf y ueithryn ae uedydyaw." Sef enwa dodet arnaw Hydwn. "Ewch chwitheu, a bydwch y lleill yn uaed coet ar llall yn garken coet, ar anyan a uo yr moch coet, bit y chwitheu, a blwydyn y hediw bydwch yma y dan y paret, ac ych etiued gyt a chwi." Ym penn y ulwydyn, llyma y clywynt<sup>60</sup> gyuarthua cwn dan paret yr ystauell, a dygyuor y llys y am hynny am eu penn. Ar hynny kyuodi a oruc ynteu a mynet allan, a phan daw allan, trillydyn a welei. Sef kyfryw lydnod a welei, baed coet a charnen coet

<sup>28</sup> W wynteu    <sup>29</sup> R omits    <sup>30</sup> W doethauch    <sup>31</sup> W ith    <sup>32</sup> W ewyllus  
<sup>33</sup> W ewyllwys    <sup>34</sup> R kewilid    <sup>35</sup> W anghau    <sup>36</sup> W inheu    <sup>37</sup> W e  
<sup>38</sup> W giluathwy    <sup>39</sup> W omits    <sup>40</sup> R mynnei    <sup>41</sup> W taraw    <sup>42</sup> W wy  
<sup>43</sup> W ywchwitheu    <sup>44</sup> W ataf    <sup>45</sup> R yr    <sup>46</sup> W chyuarthua    <sup>47</sup> W penn  
<sup>48</sup> W heb un    <sup>49</sup> R ae    <sup>50</sup> R hedrycheis    <sup>51</sup> W omits    <sup>52</sup> R yno  
<sup>53</sup> W gueleis    <sup>54</sup> W oedynt    <sup>55</sup> R dyrchauel    <sup>56</sup> W e    <sup>57</sup> R hut  
<sup>58</sup> R omits    <sup>59</sup> R yr llened    <sup>60</sup> W clywyn

then they came to him. "Lord," said they, "a good day to thee." "Yes," said he, "is it to make atonement to me that ye have come?" "Lord, we are at thy will." "Were it my will, I should not be now the loser\* of the men and arms that I have lost; my shame ye cannot pay me, without [mentioning] the death of Pryderi; and since ye have come at my will, I will begin a punishment on you." And then he took his magic wand, and struck Gilvaethwy so that he became a full-grown hind, and he seized the other quickly,—though he wished to escape he could not,—and struck him with the same magic wand so that he became a stag. "Since ye are tied† [together] I will make you go together, and that ye be paired, and of the same nature as the wild beasts in whose form ye are, and in the season that there be an heir to them, that it be to you also; and a year to-day, come here to me." At the end of the year on the same day, he could hear a tumult under the wall of the chamber, and the baying of the hounds of the court mixed with the tumult. "Look," said he, [*to one of his servants*] "what is outside." "Lord," said one, "I have looked; there are there a stag and hind and a fawn with them." And thereupon, he arose and came out, and when he came, what he saw were the three beasts; and the three beasts were these, a stag and a hind and a strong fawn. This is what he did, he raised his magic wand. "The one of you who was a hind last year, let him be a wood boar this year, and the one of you who was a stag last year, let him be a wild sow this year." And thereupon he struck them with the magic wand. "The child, however, I will take and will give him on fosterage, and baptize him." And this was the name placed upon him, Hyddwn. "Go ye, and be ye the one of you a wood boar, and the other a wood sow, and the nature that be to the wood swine be it to you too, and a year to this day, be here under the wall, and your heir with you." At the end of the year, they could hear the baying of hounds under the wall of the chamber, and the mustering of the court in addition mixed with them. Thereupon he arose and went out, and when he came out, three beasts he saw. And these were the manner

\* The tense of the verb, imperfect in a conditional sentence, demands this translation. "I should not have lost" would require the pluperfect.  
† *Lit.* in bondage.

a chrynlldwyn da gyt ac wynt,<sup>62</sup> a breisc oed yn yr oet oed arnaw. "Ie," heb ef, "hwnn<sup>61</sup> a gymeraf i attaf ac a baraf y uedydyaw." Ae daraw ar hutlath yny uyd yn uab braswineu telediaw. Sef enw a dodet ar hwnnw Hychdwn.<sup>62</sup> "A chwitheu, yr un a uu uaed<sup>63</sup> coet ohonawch yrlluned, bit vleidast<sup>64</sup> eleni<sup>65</sup>, ar hwnn<sup>66</sup> a uu garken yrlluned, bit vleid eleni.<sup>65</sup> Ac ar hynny eu taraw ar hutlath yny uydant bleid a bleidast. "Ac anyan yr anieileit yd ywch yn eu rith bit y chwitheu, a bydwch yma vlwydyn<sup>67</sup> yr dyd heddiw y dan y paret hwnn."

Yr un dyd ym penn y vlwydyn, llyma y clywei<sup>68</sup> dygyuor a chyuarthua cwn<sup>69</sup> y<sup>69</sup> dan baret<sup>70</sup> yr ystauell. Ynteu a gyuodes allan, a phan daw, llyma y gwelei<sup>71</sup> bleid a bleidast a chrubothon cryf y gyt ac wynt. "Hwnn a gymeraf i," heb ef "ac a baraf y uedydyaw, ac y mae y enw yn barawt,<sup>72</sup> sef yw hwnnw Bleidwn. Y trimeib yssyd y chwi [. . .]" (Ar tri hynny ynt

trimeib Giluaethwy enwir,<sup>73</sup>  
tri chenryssedat kywir,  
Bleidwn, Hydwn, Hychdwn hir).

Ac ar hynny<sup>74</sup> eu taraw wynteu yll<sup>75</sup> deu ar hutlath yny uydant yn eu cnawt eu<sup>76</sup> hun. "A<sup>77</sup> wyr," heb ef, "or<sup>78</sup> gwnaethawch<sup>79</sup> gam y mi, digawn y buawch ymhoen<sup>80</sup>, a chywilyd<sup>81</sup> mawr a gawssawch bot plant y <sup>82</sup> bop<sup>83</sup> un ohonawch oe gilyd. Perwch enneint yr gwyr a golchi eu penneu ac eu kyweiryaw."<sup>84</sup>

A hynny a berit udunt, a gwedy<sup>85</sup> ymgyweiryaw<sup>86</sup> ohonunt<sup>87</sup> attaw ef y kyrchyssant. "A<sup>77</sup> wyr," heb ef, "tangeued a gawssawch<sup>88</sup> a cherennyd a geffwch, a rodwch ym gynghor<sup>89</sup> pa uorwyn a geisswyf." "Arglwyd," heb y Gwydyon<sup>90</sup> uab Don, "hawd yw dy gynghori<sup>91</sup>; Aranrot uerch Don dy nith uerch dy chwaer." Honno a gyrchwyt attaw; y uorwyn a doeth y mywn. "A vorwyn," heb ef, "a wyt uorwyn<sup>92</sup> di?" "Ny wnn i, arglwyd, amgen nom bot." Yna y kymerth ynteu yr hutlath ae chamu. "Camma<sup>93</sup> di dros honn," heb ef, "ac ot

<sup>61</sup> R hwn <sup>62</sup> R hychtwn <sup>63</sup> W baed <sup>64</sup> W bleidast <sup>65</sup> W yleni <sup>66</sup> W hwn  
<sup>67</sup> W blwydyn <sup>68</sup> W chywei <sup>69</sup> W omits <sup>70</sup> W paret <sup>71</sup> W gwelei  
<sup>72</sup> W parawt <sup>73</sup> R ennwir <sup>74</sup> W hynny yny <sup>75</sup> R ell <sup>76</sup> R e <sup>77</sup> R Ha  
<sup>78</sup> W o <sup>79</sup> gwnaethauch <sup>80</sup> ym poen <sup>81</sup> R chewilyd <sup>82</sup> W o <sup>83</sup> W bob  
<sup>84</sup> W kyweiraw <sup>85</sup> W guedy <sup>86</sup> W ymgueiraw <sup>87</sup> W o honut <sup>88</sup> W gawsawch  
<sup>89</sup> W kynghor <sup>90</sup> W guydion <sup>91</sup> R gyghori <sup>92</sup> R uorwn <sup>93</sup> W camha

of beasts he saw, a wood boar and a wood sow and a good sizeable\* beast with them, and stout it was for the age that he had. "Yes," said he, "this one I will take to me, and will cause him to be baptized," and he struck him with the magic wand, so that he became a large auburn-haired beautiful youth. And the name placed on that one was Hychtwn. "And as for you, the one of you who was a wood boar last year, let him be a she-wolf this year, and the one who was a wild sow last year, let him be a wolf this year." And thereupon he struck them with the magic wand so that they became wolf and she-wolf. "And the nature of the animals in whose form ye are, let it be to you too, and be here a year to this day under this wall."

The same day at the end of the year, he could hear a mustering and the barking of hounds under the wall of his chamber. He then started out, and when he came, there he could see a wolf and a she-wolf and a strong cub with them. "This one I will take," said he, "and will cause him to be baptized, and his name is ready; that is, Bleiddwn. The three sons are yours, [. . .]" (And these three are

The three sons of Gilvaethwy the Wicked,

Three true wolf-men, (?)

Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, Hychtwn the tall).

And thereupon he struck them both with the magic wand so that they were in their own flesh. "Men," said he, "if ye have wrought me a wrong, enough have ye been punished, and great shame have ye had that there be children to each one of you by the other. Bring a bath for the men, and wash their heads and array them."

And that was done for them, and after they had ordered themselves, to him they came. "Men," said he, "peace he have had, and friendship ye shall have, and give me counsel what maiden I may seek." "Lord," said Gwydion son of Dôn, "it is easy to counsel thee, Arianrhod daughter of Dôn, thy niece, thy sister's daughter." She was fetched to him; the maiden came in. "Maiden," said he, "art thou a maiden?" "I know not, lord, but that I am." Then he took the magic wand and stepped it.† "Step thou over this," said

\* I apologise for this word, but it translates the Welsh exactly.

† Or it is possible to translate "bent it," the two verbs though of different origin, being identical.

wyt uorwyn, mi a adnabydaf.”<sup>94</sup> Yna y camawd hitheu dros yr hutlath,<sup>95</sup> ac ar y cam hwnnw adaw mab brasuelyn mawr a oruc. Sef a wnaeth y mab dodi diaspat uchel.<sup>96</sup> Yn ol diaspat y mab, kyrchu y drws a oruc hi, ac ar hynny adaw y ryw bethan ohonei, a chyn kael o neb gwelet<sup>97</sup> yr eil olwc arnaw,<sup>98</sup> Gwydion<sup>99</sup> ae kymerth, ac a droes llenn<sup>99</sup> o bali yn y gylch ac ae cudyawd ; sef lle<sup>300</sup> y cudyawd y mywn llaw<sup>1</sup> gist<sup>2</sup> is traet<sup>3</sup> y wely. “Ie,” heb y<sup>4</sup> mabs Mathonwy, “mi a baraf vedydyaw hwnn<sup>6</sup>,” wrth y mab brasuelyn, “sef enw a baraf arnaw,<sup>7</sup> Dylan.” Bedydyaw a wnaethpwynt y mab, ac ual<sup>8</sup> y bedydywyt, y mor a gyrchwys, ac yn y lle y gyt ac y doeth yr mor, anyan<sup>9</sup> y mor a gauas, a chystal y nouyei ar pysc goreu yn y mor. Ac o achaws hynny y gelwit ef<sup>7</sup> Dylan Eilton ; ny thorres tonn y danaw<sup>10</sup> eiryoet. (Ar ergyt y doeth y agheu<sup>11</sup> ohonaw a vyryawd<sup>12</sup> Gouannon y ewythyr, a hwnnw a uu drydyd anuat ergyt.)

Val yd oed Wydyon diwarnawt yn y wely ac yn deffroi, ef a glywei diaspat yn y gist is y draet ; kyn ny<sup>13</sup> bei uchel hi, kyfuuch<sup>14</sup> oed ac y kigleu ef. Sef a oruc ynteu kyuodi yu gyflym ac agori y gist, ac ual y hegyr, ef a welei<sup>15</sup> uab bychan yn rwyuaw y ureicheu o blyc y llenn<sup>16</sup> ac yn y gwasgaru.<sup>17</sup> Ac ef a gymerth y mab y rwng y dwylaw ac a gyrchwys y dref ac ef, lle y gwydyat<sup>18</sup> bot gwreic a bronneu genti, ac ymobryn a wnaeth ar wreic ueithryn y mab. Y mab a uagwyt y ulwydyn honno, ac yn oet y ulwydyn, hoff<sup>19</sup> oed gantunt y ureisket bei dwyulwyd. Ar eil vlwydyn, mab mawr oed ac yn gallu e hun kyrchu y llys. Ynteu (e hun) Wydyon wedy y dyuot yr llys a synnywys arnaw, ar mab a ymgeneuinawd ac ef, ac ae carawd yn uwy noc undyn. Yna y magwyt y mab yn y llys yny uu pedeirblwyd, a hoff<sup>19</sup> oed y uab wyth mlwyd vot yn gyureisket<sup>20</sup> ac ef. A diwarnawt<sup>21</sup> ef a gerdawd yn ol Gwydyon y orymdeith allan ; sef a wnaeth kyrchu Kaer Aranrot ar mab gyt ac ef. Gwedy y dyuot yr llys kyuodi a oruc Aranrot yn y erbyn ae<sup>22</sup> raessawu a<sup>23</sup> chyfuarch<sup>23</sup> gwell<sup>24</sup> idaw.

<sup>94</sup> W ednebydaf <sup>95</sup> R huthlath <sup>96</sup> R omits the sentence Sef . . . uchel  
<sup>97</sup> W guelet <sup>98</sup> R arnei <sup>99</sup> W llen <sup>300</sup> W omits <sup>1</sup> R llawr <sup>2</sup> R kist  
<sup>3</sup> W traed <sup>4</sup> W heb <sup>5</sup> This is the reading of W. R reads math mab  
mathonwy. The unusual radical of mab instead of the mutated uab as  
elsewhere, suggests that the W reading is the original <sup>6</sup> W hwn <sup>7</sup> W  
omits <sup>8</sup> W y gyt ac <sup>9</sup> W annyan <sup>10</sup> W adanaw <sup>11</sup> W anghau  
<sup>12</sup> W vyrywys <sup>13</sup> W kynny <sup>14</sup> R kyuch <sup>15</sup> W weley <sup>16</sup> W llen  
<sup>17</sup> W guascaru <sup>18</sup> W gwydat <sup>19</sup> W hof <sup>20</sup> R gy ureiscet W.



he, "and if thou be a maiden, I shall know it." Then she stepped over the magic wand, and on that step, she left a big stout yellow-haired child. And what the child did was to give a loud cry. After the child's cry she sought the door, and thereupon left some small thing of\* her, and before anyone could see the second glimpse of it, Gwydion took it, and turned a sheet of *pali*† around it and hid it; the place where he hid it was in a small chest below the foot of his bed. "Yes," said the son of Mathonwy, "I will have this child baptized," to the stout yellow-haired boy, "and the name I will give him is Dylan." The boy was baptized, and as he had been baptized, he went to the sea, and straightway, as soon as he came into the sea, he received the sea's nature, and as well did he swim as the best fish in the sea. And for that reason, he was called Dylan Like-a-Wave; no wave ever broke under him. (And the blow by which his death came did Govannon his uncle cast, and that was one of the three evil blows).

As Gwydion was on a day in his bed and waking, he heard a cry in the chest below his feet; though it was not loud, yet it was so loud that he heard it. This is what he did then, he arose quickly and opened the chest, and as he opened it, he could see a little boy waving his arms from the fold of the sheet, and parting it. And he took the boy between his hands,‡ and took him to the *trev*, where he knew that there was a woman with breasts, and he fixed a price with the woman to foster the child. The child was reared that year, and in the space of the year, they would wonder at his bigness, were he two years [old]. And the second year, he was a big lad and could by himself go to the court. And he (himself), Gwydion, after he had come to the court, gave heed to him, and the boy became kind§ to him, and loved him more than any man. Then the boy was reared in the court until he was four years [old], and it were wonderful for a boy of eight years to be as big as he was. And upon a day he followed Gwydion to take a walk afield; this he did, he went to Caer Arianrhod, and the child with him. After he had come to the court, Arianrhod rose to meet him, and welcomed him, and greeted him.

\* Or, "from her." † A kind of silk. ‡ i.e. into his arms. § I have had to use an obsolete phrase here,=" became used to and fond of him."

“Duw a rodo da itt,”<sup>25</sup> heb ef. “Pa uab yssyd yth ol di?” heb hi. “Y mab hwnn, mab y<sup>26</sup> ti<sup>26</sup> yw,” heb ef. “Oia<sup>27</sup> wr, pa<sup>28</sup> doi arnat ti vyg kywilydaw<sup>29</sup> i, a dilyt vyg kywilyd<sup>30</sup> ae gadw yn gyhyt a hynn?” “Ony byd arnat ti gywilyd<sup>31</sup> uwy no meithryn ohonaf i uab kystal a hwnn, ys bychan a beth vyd dy gywilyd.”<sup>31</sup> “Pwy enw dy uab di<sup>32</sup>?” heb hi. “Dioer,” heb ef, “nyt<sup>33</sup> oes arnaw un enw ettwa<sup>34</sup>.” “Ie,” heb hi, “mi a dynghaf<sup>35</sup> dyghet<sup>36</sup> idaw na chaffo ef<sup>37</sup> enw yny kaffo y<sup>38</sup> genhyf<sup>39</sup> i.” “Dygaf y duw uyg kyffes,” heb ef, “direit wreic wyt, ar mab a geiff enw kyt boet drwc genhyt<sup>40</sup> ti, a thitheu,” heb ef “[. . .] yr hwnn yd wyt ti<sup>41</sup> ac auar arnat<sup>41</sup> am nath elwir y<sup>42</sup> uorwyn, nyth elwir bellach byth yn uorwyn.” Ac ar hynny kerdet e ymdeith<sup>43</sup> drwy y lit a wnaeth, a chyrchu Kaer Dathyl,<sup>44</sup> ac yno y bu y nos honno. A thrannoeth kyudi a oruc a chymryt y uab gyt ac ef, a mynet y orymdeith gan lan y weilgi, rwng hynny ac Aber Menei. Ac yn y lle y gwelas<sup>45</sup> delysc a morwyal, hudaw llong a wnaeth, ac or gwymon<sup>46</sup> ar delysc hudaw cordwal a wnaeth, a hynny llawer, ac eu brithaw a oruc hyt na welsei neb lledyr degach noc ef. Ac ar hynny kyweiraw<sup>47</sup> hwyl ar y llong<sup>48</sup> a wnaeth, a dyuot y drws porth Kaer Aranrot, ef ar mab yn y llong. Ac yna dechreu llunyaw esgidyeu ac eu gwniaw, ac yna y harganuot or gaer. Pan wybu ynteu eu<sup>49</sup> harganuot<sup>50</sup> or gaer, dwyn<sup>51</sup> eu heilyw e hun a oruc a dodi eilyw arall arnunt ual nat adnepit. “Pa dynyon yssyd yn y llong?” heb yr Aranrot. “Crydyon,” heb wy. “Ewch y edrych pa ryw ledyr yssyd gantunt,<sup>52</sup> a pha ryw weith a wnaant.”<sup>53</sup> Yna y doethpwyty<sup>54</sup> attunt, a phan doethpwyty yd oed ef yn brithaw cordwal a hynny yn eureit. Yna y doeth y kennadeu a menegi idi hi hynny. “Ie,” heb hitheu, “dygwch uessur uyn troet, ac erchwch yr cryd wneuthur esgidyeu ym.”<sup>55</sup> Ynteu a lunywys yr esgidyeu, ac nyt<sup>56</sup> wrth y messur namyn yn uwy. Dyuot ar esgidyeu idi, nachaf yr esgidyeu yn ormod. “Ryuawr<sup>57</sup> yw y rei hynn,” heb hi, “ef a geiff werth y rei hynn

<sup>25</sup> W ro da it   <sup>26</sup> R itti   <sup>27</sup> W Oi a   <sup>28</sup> W ba   <sup>29</sup> R kewilydaw   <sup>30</sup> R kewilyd   <sup>31</sup> R gewilyd   <sup>32</sup> W dy   <sup>33</sup> W nit   <sup>34</sup> W etwa   <sup>35</sup> R tynghaf  
<sup>36</sup> R dynghet   <sup>37</sup> W omits   <sup>38</sup> R omits   <sup>39</sup> R gennyf   <sup>40</sup> R gennyt  
<sup>41</sup> R ti ac ae uar   <sup>42</sup> R yn   <sup>43</sup> R y meith   <sup>44</sup> W tathyl   <sup>45</sup> W guelas  
<sup>46</sup> W guimon R gwynnon   <sup>47</sup> R kyweiryaw   <sup>48</sup> R long   <sup>49</sup> W y  
<sup>50</sup> W arganuot   <sup>51</sup> W dwy   <sup>52</sup> W ganthunt   <sup>53</sup> W wnant   <sup>54</sup> R deuthpwyty

"God give thee good," said he. "Who is this boy following thee?" said she. "This boy, he is a son of thine," said he. "Alas, sir, what came on thee to shame me, and to pursue my shame and keep it as long as this?" "If there be not on thee a greater shame than that I should have reared a boy as noble as this, it is a small thing that thy shame will be." "What is thy son's name?" said she. "In truth," said he, "there is as yet no name on him." "Yes," said she, "I will swear him a destiny that he get no name until he get it from me." "I bear to God my confession," said he, "a wicked woman thou art, and the boy shall have a name, though it be grievous to thee, and as for thee," said he, "[. . .] him of whom there is sorrow on thee that thou art not called his maiden,\* thou shalt never be called maiden henceforth." And thereupon he walked away in his anger, and went to *Caer Dathal*, and there he was that night. And on the morrow he rose, and took his son with him, and went to take a walk along the shore of the ocean, between that [place] and *Aber Menai*. And in the place where he saw *dulse* and *sea-girdle*, he made a ship by magic, and from the sea weed and the *dulse* he made fine leather, and of it many [pieces] and he decorated them so that no one had seen fairer leather than it. And thereupon he set a sail on the ship, and came to the water-gate of *Caer Arianrhod*, he and the boy, in the ship. And then they began to fashion shoes and to stitch them, and then they were seen from the *caer*. When then he knew that they had been perceived from the *caer*, he took away their own countenance and set upon them another countenance so that they should not be recognised. "What men are in the ship?" said *Arianrhod*. "Shoemakers," said they. "Go to see what manner of leather they have, and what manner of work they do." Then they came to them, and when they came, he was decorating fine leather and that with gold. Then the messengers came and made that known to her. "Yes," said she, "take the measure of my foot, and order the shoemaker to make shoes for me." He then fashioned the shoes, and not by the measure, but larger. The shoes were brought to her; behold, the shoes were too large. "Too large are these," said she,

\* i.e. . . . him of whom you are grieved not to be maiden.

a<sup>58</sup> gwnaet heuyt rei a uo llei noc wynt." Sef a wnaeth ynteu,<sup>59</sup> gwneuthur rei ereill yn llei lawer noe throet, ae hanuon idi. "Dywedwch idaw nyts<sup>60</sup> a ymi<sup>60</sup> un or esgidyeu hynn,"<sup>60</sup> heb hi. Ef a dywetpwyt idaw hynny. "Ie," heb ynteu, "ny lunyaf i esgydyeu<sup>61</sup> idi yny welhwyf<sup>62</sup> y throet," a hynny a dywetpwyt idi. "Ie," heb hi, "mi a af hyt attaw ef."<sup>63</sup> Ac yna y doeth hi hyt y llong, a phan doeth, yd oed ef yn llunyaw ar mab yn gwniaw. "Ie, arglwydes," heb ef, "dyd da itt."<sup>64</sup> "Duw a rodo<sup>65</sup> da itt,"<sup>64</sup> heb hi. "Eres yw genhyf<sup>66</sup> na uedrut gymedroli<sup>67</sup> ar<sup>63</sup> wneuthur<sup>63</sup> esgidyeu wrth uessur." "Na uedreis," heb ynteu, "mi ae medraf<sup>68</sup> weithon." Ac ar hynny llyma y dryw yn seuyll ar vwr<sup>69</sup> y llog<sup>70</sup> Sef a wnaeth y mab y vwrw ae uedru y rwng giewyn y esgeir ar asgwrn. Sef<sup>71</sup> a wnaeth hitheu chwerthin. "Dioer," heb hi, "ys llaw gyffes y medrwys y llew<sup>72</sup> ef." "Ie," heb ynteu, "aniolwch duw itt,<sup>73</sup> neur gauas ef enw, a da digawn yw y enw,—Llew Llaw Gyffes yw bellach." Ac yna difflannu y gweith<sup>74</sup> yn delysc ac yn wimon, ar gweith<sup>74</sup> nys<sup>75</sup> canlynwys<sup>76</sup> ef hwy no hynny. (Ac or achaws hwnnw y gelwit ef yn drydyd eurgyrd.) "Dioer," heb hitheu, "ny henbydy well di o uot yn drwc wrthyf i." "Ny buum drwc i ettwa<sup>77</sup> wrthyt ti," heb ef. Ac yna yd ellygwys<sup>78</sup> ef y uab yn y bryt e hun, ac<sup>79</sup> y kymmerth y furyf e hun.<sup>80</sup> "Ie," heb hitheu, "minheu a dyghaf<sup>81</sup> dyghet<sup>82</sup> yr mab hwnn, na chaffo arueu byth yny gwisgwyf<sup>83</sup> i<sup>84</sup> ymdanaw." "Yrof a Duw," heb ef, "handid oth direidi di; ac ef a geiff<sup>85</sup> arueu." Yna y doethant hwy<sup>86</sup> parth a Dinas Dinllef, ac yno<sup>87</sup> meithryn Llew Llaw Gyffes yny allwys marchogaeth pob march, ac yny oed gwbyl o bryt a thwf a meint. Ac yna adnabot a wnaeth Gwydyon arnaw y uot yn kymryt dihirwch o eisseu meirch ae arueu, ae alw attaw a wnaeth. "A<sup>88</sup> was," heb ef,<sup>89</sup> "ni a<sup>90</sup> awn ui a thi y neges auory, a byd lawenach noc yd wyt." "A hynny a wnaef inheu,"<sup>91</sup> heb y gwas.<sup>92</sup> Ac yn ieuencit<sup>93</sup> y dyd drannoeth<sup>94</sup> kyuodi a wnaethant, a chymryt yr aruordir y uynydd

58 R omits 59 W ef 60 R ymi y rei hynn 61 W lunyaf esgydyeu  
62 R welwyf 63 W omits 64 W it 65 W ro 66 R gennyf 67 W  
kymedroli 68 W omits 69 R metraf 70 W wwrđ 71 R llong 72 R Ssef  
73 W lleu. *It is possible that u here is for w. Notice the many instances  
in these notes of u in W where R has w.* 73 W it 74 W gueith 75 W ny  
76 chanlynwys 77 W etwa 78 W ellyngwys 79 80 R omits ac . . . hun  
81 R dynghaf 82 R dynghet 83 84 W gwiscofi 85 W geif 86 W wy

"he shall have the price of these, and let him also make some that be smaller than they." This is what he did,—he made others much smaller than her foot, and sent them to her. "Tell him that not one of these shoes will go on me," said she. That was told him. "Yes," said he, "I will not fashion shoes for her till I see her foot;" and that was told her. "Yes," said she, "I will go to him." And then she came to the ship, and when she came, he was fashioning, and the boy was stitching. "Yes, lady," said he, "good day to thee." "God give thee good," said she. "I deem it strange that thou art not able to hit the mean in making shoes by measure." "I was not able,"\* said he, "I shall be able\* [to do] it now." And thereupon, lo, a wren alighted on board the ship. This the boy did, he struck it and hit it between the sinew of its leg and the bone. And what she did was to laugh. "Truly," said she, "it was with an unerring (?) hand that the Llew hit it." "Yes," said he, "God's curse upon thee, he has had a name, and good enough is his name, Llew Llaw Gyffes [Lion Unerring Hand] is he henceforth." And thereupon the work vanished into dulse and seaweed, and he did not pursue the work further than that. (And for that reason he was called one of the three Gold Shoemakers.)

"Truly," said she, "thou shalt not profit by being evil to me." "I have not been evil to thee yet," said he. And then he released his son into his own image, and he took his own form. "Yes," said she, "I then will swear this boy a destiny, that he never have arms until I array him." "Between me and God," said he, "good luck to your wickedness; and he shall have arms." Then they came towards Dinas Dinlleu and there Llew Llaw Gyffes was reared until he could ride every horse, and until he was fulfilled in mien and growth and size. And then Gwydion recognised on him that he was taking grief from the want of horses and arms, and he called him to him. "Youth," said he, "we will go, I and you, on an errand to-morrow, and be more joyful than thou art." "And that I will," said the lad. And in the youth of the day, on the morrow, they arose and took the

\* The verb *medru* used here means also, "to hit the mark." It is the same word used below for "hit," when Lleu hits the wren.

<sup>87</sup> W yna   <sup>88</sup> R Ha   <sup>89</sup> W ynteu   <sup>90</sup> R omits   <sup>91</sup> R ynheu   <sup>92</sup> W guas  
<sup>93</sup> W ieuengtit   <sup>94</sup> W trannoeth

parth a Bryn Arian, ac yn y penn uchaf y Geuyn Clutno,<sup>95</sup> ymgweiraw<sup>96</sup> ar ueirch a wnaethant, a dyuot parth a Chaer Aranrot. Ac yna amgenu eu pryt a wnaethant, a chyrchu y porth yn rith deu was ieueinc, eithyr<sup>97</sup> bot<sup>98</sup> yn prudach pryt Gwydyon noc un y gwas.<sup>99</sup> “Y<sup>99</sup> porthawr,” heb ef, “dos y mywn, a dywet uot yma beird o Uorgannwc.” Y porthawr a aeth. “Graessaw Duw wrthunt, gellwng y mywn wy,” heb hi. Diruawr lewenyd<sup>400</sup> a uu yn eu herbyn; yr<sup>1</sup> neuad<sup>2</sup> a gyweirwy<sup>3</sup> ac<sup>4</sup> y uwytas<sup>5</sup> yd aethant.<sup>6</sup> Gwedy<sup>7</sup> daruot y<sup>8</sup> bwyt, ymdidan a wnaeth hi a Gwydyon<sup>9</sup> am chwedleu a chyuarwydyt: ynteu Wydyon kyuarwyd da oed. Gwedy<sup>7</sup> bot yn amser ymadaw a chyuedach, ystauell a gyweirwy<sup>10</sup> udunt hwy,<sup>11</sup> ac y gyscu yd aethant. Hir bylgeint Gwydyon<sup>9</sup> a gyuodes,<sup>12</sup> ac yna y gelwis ef y hut ae allu attaw. Erbyn pan oed y dyd yn goleuhau, yd oed gyniweir<sup>13</sup> ac utkyrn, a lleuein yn y wlat yn gynghan. Pann<sup>14</sup> yttoed<sup>15</sup> y dyd yn dyuot, wynt a glywynt taraw drws yr ystauell, ac ar hynny Aranrot yn erchi agori. Kyuodi a oruc y gwas<sup>53</sup> ieuanc ac agori; hitheu a doeth y mywn a morwyn y gyt a hi. “A<sup>35</sup> wyrda,” heb hi, “lle drwc yd ym.” “Ie,” heb ynteu, “ni a glywn utkyrn a lleuein, a beth a debygy di o hynny?” “Dioer,” heb hi, “ni chawn welet lliw<sup>16</sup> y weilgi gan bop<sup>17</sup> llong ar torr y gilyd, ac y maent yn kyrchu y tir yn gyntaf a allont, a pha beth a wnawn ni<sup>18</sup>?” heb hi. “Arglwydes,” heb y Gwydyon, “nyt oes in gyghor<sup>19</sup> onyt kaeu<sup>20</sup> y gaer arnam, ae chynhal yn oreu a allom.” “Ie,” heb hitheu, “duw a dalho<sup>21</sup> ywch, a chynhellwch<sup>22</sup> chwitheu, ac yma y keffwch digawn o arueu.” Ac ar hynny, yn ol yr arueu yd aeth hi, a llyma hi yn dyuot a dwy uorwyn gyt a hi, ac arueu deu wr gantunt. “Arglwydes,” heb ef, “gwisc ymdan y gwryanc<sup>23</sup> hwnn, a minheu<sup>24</sup> vi ar morynyon a wiscaf<sup>25</sup> ymdanaf inheu; mi a glywaf odorun y gwyr yn dyuot.” “Hynny a wnaaf yn llawen,” [*heb hi,*] a gwiscaw<sup>26</sup> a wnaeth hi ymdanaw<sup>27</sup> ef yn llaw(e)n ac yn gwbyl. “A deryw,” heb ef, “wiscaw ymdan<sup>28</sup> y gwryanc<sup>23</sup> hwnnw?” “Deryw,”<sup>29</sup> heb hi. “Neur deryw<sup>29</sup>

95 R clutno 96 W ymgueiraw 97-98 W eithyr y vot 99 W E  
 400 W leuenyd 1-2 R y neuad 3 W gyweirwyd 4 R omits  
 5 W wwyta 6 W aethpwyt 7 W guedy 8 R omits 9 W guydyon 10 W  
 gweirwyt 11 W wy 12 R gyvodes 13 R geniweir 14 W pan 15 W ydoed  
 16 W llyw 17 W pob 18 W i 19 W gynghor 20 W caeu 21 R . . lo  
 22 W chynhelwch; *ll in R is double l and not ll, which is written in R with*

coast upwards towards Bryn Aerau,\* and in the upper part of Cefn Cludno, they arrayed themselves on horses and came towards Caer Arianrhod. And then they changed their appearance, and sought the gate in the form of two young swains, save that the mien of Gwydion was graver than the boy's. "Gateward," said he, "go within, and say that here are bards from Glamorgan." The gateward went. "God's welcome to them, let them in," said she. With great joy were they received; the hall was ordered and to meat they went. After finishing the eating, she conversed with Gwydion concerning tales and *cyfarwyddyd*; he, Gwydion, was a good *cyfarwydd*. After it became time to leave carousal, a chamber was set in order for them, and to sleep they went. At long cock-crow,† Gwydion arose, and then he summoned to him his magic and power. By the time the day was becoming light, there were a gathering and trumpets and outcry in the country, all sounding together. When the day was coming, they could hear knocking at the door of the chamber, and thereupon, Arianrhod bidding them open. The youth arose and opened, and she came in and a maiden with her. "Gentlemen," said she, "it is a bad place we are in." "Yes," said he, "we hear trumpets and outcry, and what thinkest thou of that?" "Truly," said she, "we may not see the hue of the sea for all the ships crowding one on the other, and they are coming towards the land as quickly as they can, and what shall we do?" said she. "Lady," said Gwydion, "we have no counsel but to close the *caer* upon us, and hold it as best we can." "Yes," said she, "God pay you, and do you hold [it] and here you will find arms enough." And thereupon she went to fetch the arms, and here she comes and two maidens with her, bringing the arms of two men. "Lady," said he, "array thou this swain, and I, with the maidens, will array myself; I hear the tumult of the men coming." "That I will do gladly," and she arrayed him fully and completely. "Is it finished," said he, "the arraying of that swain?" "It is finished," said she. "It is finished with me, too," said he,

\* I take *aryen* of the MSS to be an error for *ayreu*. Bryn Aerau is still the name for the place indicated. †Whether "early" or "late" is meant by "long," I do not know; probably "early," to judge from the context.

*a bar across.* <sup>23</sup> R gwyranc <sup>24</sup> R minneu <sup>25</sup> R wisgaf <sup>26</sup> W guiscaw  
<sup>27</sup> W amdanaw <sup>28</sup> W amdan <sup>29</sup> R derw

y minheu," heb ef, "diodwn an<sup>30</sup> harueu<sup>31</sup> weithon, nyt<sup>32</sup> reit ynn<sup>33</sup> wrthunt. "Och," heb hitheu, "paham? Llyna y llynghes yg<sup>34</sup> kylch y ty." "A<sup>35</sup> wreic, nit oes yna un llynghes." "Och," heb hitheu,<sup>36</sup> "pa ryw dygyuor a uu ohonei?" "Dygyuor," heb ynteu, "y dorri<sup>37</sup> dy dynghetuen am dy uab, ac y geissaw arueu idaw, ac neur gauas ef arueu heb y diolwch y ti." "Y<sup>38</sup> rof i<sup>36</sup> a Duw," heb hitheu, "gwr drwc wyt ti, ac ef a allei llawer<sup>39</sup> mab colli y eneit am y dygyuor a bereist<sup>40</sup> ti<sup>40</sup> yn y cantref hwnn hediw. A mi a dynghaf<sup>41</sup> dynghet idaw,"<sup>42</sup> heb hi, "na chaffo gwreic<sup>43</sup> uyth<sup>44</sup> or genedyl yssyd ar y dayar yr awr honn." "Ie," heb ynteu, "direitwreic<sup>45</sup> uuost<sup>46</sup> eiryoet,<sup>47</sup> ac ny dyliei neb uot yn borth itt,<sup>48</sup> a gwreic a geiff<sup>49</sup> ef ual kynt."

Hwynteu a doethant at Vath<sup>50</sup> uab Mathonwy, a chwynaw yn luttaf yn y byt rac Aranrot a wnaethant, a menegi ual y paryssei yr arueu idaw oll. "Ie," heb y Math, "keisswn ninheu<sup>51</sup> ui a thi oc an hut an lletrith<sup>52</sup> hudaw gwreic idaw ynteu or blodeu." Ynteu yna a meint gwr yndaw. ac yn delediwhaf gwas<sup>53</sup> or<sup>54</sup> a welas dyn eiryoet.<sup>55</sup> Ac yna y kymer-assant<sup>56</sup> hwy<sup>57</sup> blodeu y deri, a blodeu y banadyl, a blodeu yr erwein, ac or rei hynny, asswynaw yr un uorwyn deckaf<sup>58</sup> a thelediwaf a welas dyn eiryoet<sup>55</sup> ae<sup>59</sup> bedydyaw or bedyd a wneynt yna, a doddi Blodeued<sup>60</sup> arnei.

Gwedy y kyscu y<sup>61</sup> gyt hwy<sup>62</sup> ar y wled, "nyt hawd" heb y Gwydyon<sup>63</sup> "y wr heb gyuoeth idaw osymdeithaw."<sup>64</sup> "Ie," heb y Math, "mi a rodaf idaw yr un cantref goreu y was ieuanc y gael." "Arglwyd," heb ef, "pa gantref yw hwnnw?" "Cantref Dinodig," heb ef. (A hwnnw a elwir<sup>65</sup> yr awr honn Eiwynynd ac Ardudwy). Sef lle ar y cantref y kyuanhedwys lys idaw, yn y lle a elwir Mur y<sup>66</sup> Castell, a hynny yg gwrthtir<sup>67</sup> Ardudwy. Ac yno<sup>68</sup> y kyuanhedwys ef ac y gwledychwys, a phawb a uu uodlawn idaw ac y arglwydiaeth.

30 W yn 31 W arueu 32 W nit 33 R in 34 W yng 35 R Ha  
 36 W omits 37 R tororri 38 W E 39 R y llawer 40 W bereisti 41 R  
 tynghaf 42 R yr mab 43 W wreic 44 R vyth 45 W direidwreic  
 46 R uvost 47 W eiroet 48 W it 49 W geif 50 W math 51 R  
 ninneu W inheu 52 W lledrith 53 W guas 54 W omits 55 W eiroet  
 56 W kymeryssant 57 W wy 58 W deccaf 59 W Ac y 60 R blodeuwed  
 61 W y 62 W wy 63 W guydyon 64 W ossymdeithawc 65 R elwyr  
 66 W omits 67 R gwrthdir 68 W yna



“let us now doff our armour; we have no need of them.” “Ah,” said she, “why? See there the fleet around the house.” “Madam, no fleet is there.” “Ah,” said she, “and what manner of mustering was there of it?” “A mustering,” said he, “to break thy destiny concerning thy son, and to procure arms for him, and arms he has had, with no thanks to thee.” “Between me and God,” said she, “a bad man art thou, and many a boy\* might lose his life for the mustering which thou didst cause in this cantrev to-day. And I will swear him a destiny,” said she, “that he have never a wife of the race that is on the earth now.” “Yes,” said he, “a wicked woman hast thou ever been, and no one should be thy support, and a wife he shall have as before.”†

And they came to Math son of Mathonwy, and they made complaint the bitterest‡ in the world against Arianrhod, and made known to him all [the story] how he had procured the arms. “Yes,” said Math, “let us, me and thee, by our magic and our enchantment make a wife for him out of the flowers.” And he then was of man’s estate, and the most beautiful youth that man had ever seen. And then they took the flowers of the oaktrees, and the flowers of the broom and flowers of the meadow-sweet, and with those made by enchantment the fairest maiden above all and the most beautiful that man had ever seen, and baptized her with the baptism which they practised at that time, and placed “Blodeuedd” upon her.

After their sleeping together upon the feast, “It is not easy,” said Gwydion, “for a man who has no dominion to keep maintenance.” “Yes,” said Math, “I will give him the one best cantrev for a young man to have.” “Lord,” said he, “what cantrev is that?” “The cantrev of Dunodig,” said he. (And that is called nowadays Eivionydd and Ardudwy). The place in the cantrev in which he settled him a court was in the place that is called Mur y Castell,§ and that in the uplands of Ardudwy. And there he settled and ruled, and everyone was content with him and with his lordship.

\* or son. † i.e., as things were before you swore the destiny. ‡ *glud*, lit. “assiduous” has generally to be translated according to the context. § i.e. Castle Wall.

Ac yna dreigylgweith<sup>69</sup> kyrchu a wnaeth parth a Chaer Dathyl, y<sup>70</sup> ymwelet a Math uab Mathonwy. Y dyd yd aeth ef parth a Chaer Dathyl,<sup>71</sup> troi o vywn<sup>72</sup> y llys a wnaeth<sup>73</sup> hi, a hi a glywei lef corn, ac yn ol llef y corn, llyma hyd blin yn myned heibaw, a chwn a chynnydyon<sup>74</sup> yn y ol, ac yn ol y cwn ar kynnydyon<sup>75</sup> bagat o wyr ar traet yn dyuot. “Ellyngwch was,” heb hi, “y<sup>76</sup> wybot pwy yr<sup>76</sup> yniuer<sup>76</sup> racco.” Y gwas<sup>77</sup> a aeth, a gouyn pwy oedynt. “Gronw Pebyr yw hwnn, y gwr yssyd arglwyd ar Penllynn,”<sup>78</sup> heb wy. Hynny a dywawt<sup>79</sup> y gwas<sup>77</sup> idi hitheu. Ynteu a gerdwys yn ol yr hyd, ac ar auon Gynwael<sup>80</sup> gordiwes yr hyd ae lad, ac wrth ulingaw<sup>81</sup> yr hyd a llithyaw y gwn, ef a uu yny wascawd y nos arnaw. A phan yttoed<sup>82</sup> y dyd yn atueilaw ar nos yn nessau, ef a doeth heb porth y llys. “Dioer,” heb hi, “ni a gawn yn goganu gan yr unben oe adu y pryttwn<sup>83</sup> y wlat arall onys gwahodwn.”<sup>84</sup> “Dioer, arglwydes,” heb wy, “iawnhaf<sup>85</sup> yw y wahawd.” Yna yd aeth kennadeu yn y erbyn y wahawd, ac yna y kymmerth ef y wahawd yn llawen, ac y doeth yr llys, ac y doeth hitheu yn y erbyn ef<sup>86</sup> y ressawu<sup>87</sup> ac y gyuarch gwell<sup>88</sup> idaw. “Arglwydes,” heb<sup>86</sup> ef,<sup>86</sup> “Duw a dalho it dy lewenyd.”<sup>89</sup> Ymdiarchenu a mynet y eisted a wnaethant. Sef a wnaeth Blodeuedd edrych arnaw ef, ac yr awr yd edrych<sup>90</sup> nyt<sup>91</sup> oed gyueir arnei hi ny bei yn llawn oe garyat ef, ac ynteu a synnywys<sup>92</sup> arnei hitheu, ar un medwl a doeth yndaw ef ac a doeth yndi hitheu. Ef ny allwys ymgelu oe uot yn y charu hi,<sup>86</sup> ae uenegi idi a wnaeth. Hitheu a gymerth diruawr lewenyd<sup>89</sup> yndi, ac o achaws y serch ar caryat a dodassei bop<sup>93</sup> un ohonunt ar y gilyd y bu eu hymdidan y nos honno, ac ny bu ohir y<sup>94</sup> ymgael ohonunt, nyt<sup>91</sup> amgen nor nos honno, ar nos honno kyscu y gyt a wnaethant. A thrannoeth aroun a wnaeth ef ymeith.<sup>95</sup> “Dioer,” heb hi, “nyt ey y wrthyf i heno.” Y<sup>94</sup> nos honno y buant y gyt heuyt, ar nos honno y bu y<sup>96</sup> ymgyngor gantunt<sup>97</sup> pa furyf<sup>98</sup> y keffynt<sup>99</sup> uot yg kyt. “Nyt oes gynghor it,”<sup>500</sup> heb ef, “onyt un, keissaw y gantaw<sup>1</sup> gwybot pa ffuryf<sup>98</sup> y del y angheu, a hynny yn rith amgeled<sup>2</sup> amdanaw.” Trannoeth aroun a wnaeth.

<sup>69</sup> W treigylgweith <sup>70</sup> W e <sup>71</sup> W tathyl <sup>72</sup> W ouywn <sup>73</sup> W wnaet  
<sup>74</sup> W chynydyon <sup>75</sup> W kynydyon <sup>76</sup> R y niver <sup>77</sup> W guas <sup>78</sup> W  
 benllyn <sup>79</sup> W dywot <sup>80</sup> W gynnwael <sup>81</sup> W ulingyaw <sup>82</sup> W ytoed  
<sup>83</sup> W prytwn <sup>84</sup> W gwahodwn <sup>85</sup> R iawnaf. <sup>86</sup> W omits <sup>87</sup> W graessawu  
<sup>88</sup> W well <sup>89</sup> W lywenyd <sup>90</sup> R edrychawd <sup>91</sup> W nit <sup>92</sup> W synnywys

And then upon a time he went towards Caer Dathal to visit Math son of Mathonwy. The day on which he went to Caer Dathal, she turned within the court, and she heard the sound of a horn, and after the sound of the horn there went by a spent stag, and hounds and huntsmen following it, and following the hounds and the huntsmen a pack of men afoot coming. "Send ye a servant," said she, "to know who that host is." The servant went and asked who they were. "This is Gronwy Pevr, the man who is lord over Penllyn," said they. That the servant said to her then. And he walked after the stag, and on Cynvael river he overtook the stag and killed him, and in skinning the stag and baiting his hounds, he was until the night pressed on him. And when the day was failing and the night approaching, he came past the gate of the court. "Truly," said she, "we shall be reviled by the chieftain by leaving him [to go] at this time to another country, if we invite him not." "Truly, lady," said they, "it is most right to invite him." Then went messengers to meet him to invite him, and then he accepted his invitation gladly, and he came to the court, and she came to meet him to welcome him, and to greet him better. "Lady," said he, "God repay thee thy gladness." They took off their boots and went to sit. And what Blodeuedd did was to look at him, and from the moment that she looked, there was no portion on her that was not full of his love, and he too took heed of her, and the same thought came into him that had come into her. He could not conceal that he loved her, and he made it known to her. And she took exceeding joy in her, and it was of the matter of the love and affection that each of them had set on the other that their discourse was that night, and there was no delaying of their coming together,—that is, that night,—and that night they slept together. And on the morrow he had a mind [to go] away. "Truly," said she, "thou wilt not go from me to-night." That night too they were together and that night they took counsel how they might be together. "There is no counsel for thee," said he, "but one, to seek from him to know how his death may come, and that under the guise of caring for him." Next day he had a mind [to go]. "Truly," said she, "I do

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<sup>93</sup> W pob <sup>94</sup> W e <sup>95</sup> W eyndeith <sup>96</sup> R W yr <sup>97</sup> W ganthunt <sup>98</sup> W furu <sup>99</sup> W kehynt <sup>500</sup> R omits <sup>1</sup> W ganthaw <sup>2</sup> W ymgeled

“Dioer,” heb<sup>3</sup> hi,<sup>4</sup> “nys chyghoraf<sup>6</sup> it hediw vynet y<sup>7</sup> wrthyf i.”  
 “Dioer kanys kynghory ditheu, nyt<sup>8</sup> af inheu,”<sup>9</sup> heb ef; “mi<sup>10</sup>  
 a<sup>11</sup> dywedaf hagen uot yn berigyl<sup>12</sup> dyuot yr unben bieu y llys adref.”  
 “Ie,” heb hi, “auory mi ath ganhataf<sup>13</sup> di y<sup>14</sup> uynet<sup>15</sup> ymdeith.” Tran-  
 noeth arouun a wnaeth ef, ac nys<sup>16</sup> lludywys<sup>17</sup> hitheu ef. “Ie,” heb  
 ynteu, “coffa a dywedeis wrthyt, ac ymdidan yn lut ac ef, a hynny  
 yn rith ysmalhawch<sup>18</sup> caryat ac ef, a dilyt y gantaw pa fford<sup>19</sup> y gallei  
 dyuot y angheu.”

Ynteu<sup>20</sup> a doeth adref y nos honno. Treulaw y dyd a wnaethant  
 drwy ymdidan a cherd a chyuedach, ar nos honno y gyscu y gyt yd  
 aethant, ac ef a dywawt<sup>21</sup> parabyl ar eil wrthi, ac yn hynny parabyl  
 nys<sup>22</sup> kauas ef.<sup>14</sup> “Pa derw ytti,”<sup>23</sup> heb ef, “ac a wyt iach di?”  
 “Medylaw yd wyf,” heb hi, “yr hynn nys medylut ti amdanaf i.  
 Sef yw hynny,” heb hi, “goualu am dy angheu di ot elut yn gynt no  
 miui.” “Ie,” heb ynteu, “Duw a dalho<sup>24</sup> itt<sup>25</sup> dy amgeled.<sup>26</sup> Onym  
 llad i Duw hagen nyt<sup>27</sup> hawd vy llad i,” heb ef. “A wney ditheu yr  
 Duw ac yrof inheu menegi y mi pa furyf<sup>28</sup> y galler dy lad ditheu,  
 kanys gwell<sup>29</sup> yw uyg<sup>30</sup> cof<sup>31</sup> i wrth ymoglyt nor teu di.” “Dywedaf  
 yn llawen,” heb ef, “nyt<sup>27</sup> hawd fy llad i,” heb ef,<sup>32</sup> “heb<sup>33</sup> ergyt, a  
 reit oed uot blwydyn<sup>34</sup> yn gwneuthur y par ym byrhith<sup>35</sup> i ac ef, a heb  
 wneuthur<sup>36</sup> dim ohonaw namyn pan uythit<sup>37</sup> ar yr aberth duw sul.”  
 “Ae diogel hynny?” heb hi. “Diogel dioer,” heb ef. “Ny  
 ellir uy llad i mywn ty,” heb ef, “ni ellir allan; ny ellir uy llad ar  
 uarch, ny ellir ar uyn troet.” “Ie,” heb hitheu, “pa delw y gellit  
 dy lad ditheu?” “Mi ae dywedaf ytti,”<sup>38</sup> heb ynteu. “Gwneuthur  
 enneint<sup>39</sup> im ar lan auon, a gwneuthur cromglwyd uch penn<sup>40</sup> y gerwyn,  
 ae thoi yn da ac<sup>41</sup> yn<sup>42</sup> didos wedy hynny hyhitheu,<sup>43</sup> a dwyn bwch,”  
 heb ef, “ae dodi ger<sup>44</sup> llaw y gerwyn, a dodi ohonaf<sup>45</sup> inheu<sup>46</sup> y neill  
 troet ar geuyn y bwch ar<sup>47</sup> llall ar ymyl<sup>48</sup> y gerwyn. Pwy bynnac am<sup>49</sup>  
 metrei<sup>50</sup> i yuelly<sup>51</sup> a wnaey<sup>52</sup> uy agheu.”<sup>53</sup> “Ie,” heb hitheu, “diolchaf  
 y Duw hynny; ef a ellir rac hynny dianc yn hawd.” Nyt kynt noc

3 4 W omits 5 W ni 6 R chynghoraf 7 W e 8 W nit 9 R ynheu  
 10 11 W omits 12 W perigyl 13 W ganhadaf 14 15 W omits 16 W ny  
 17 W ludywys 18 W ysmalawch 19 W ford 20 W Enteu 21 W dywot  
 22 W nis 23 W yti 24 R dalo 25 W it 26 W ymgeled 27 W nit  
 28 W furu 29 W guell 30 31 W uyghof 32 R omits 33 R W o  
 34 R vlwydyn 35 R byriyt 36 W gwneuthur 37 R vydit 38 W yti

not advise thee to-day to go from me." "Truly, since thou didst not advise it, I will not go," said he; "I will say however that there is a danger of the coming home of the chieftain who owns the court." "Yes," said she, "to-morrow I will give thee leave to go away." On the morrow he had a mind [to go], and she did not prevent him. "Yes," said he, "remember what I said to thee, and converse diligently with him, and that in the guise of the dalliance of love with him, and elicit from him now his death might come."

And he came home that night. They spent the day in discourse and song and revelry, and that night they went to sleep together, and he said a word and another to her, and during that time one word he did not get. "What hath befallen thee," said he, "and art thou well?" "I am thinking," said she, "what thou wouldst not think about me. And that is," said she, "being anxious about thy death, if thou shouldst go before me." "Yes," said he, "may God repay thee thy cherishing. Unless God kill me, however, it is not easy to kill me," said he. "And wilt thou for God's sake and for my sake, make known to me how thou mayest be killed, because my memory is better in taking precaution than thine." "I will say gladly," said he. "It is not easy to kill me," said he, "without a blow, and it were necessary to be a year making the spear with which I should be struck, and without making any of it except when they were at Mass on Sunday." "Is that certain?" said she. "Certain in truth," said he. "I cannot be killed in a house," said he, "nor can it [be done] outside; I cannot be killed on a horse, it cannot [be done] when I am afoot." "Yes," said she, "in what manner couldst thou be killed?" "I will tell thee," said he,— "by making me a bath on the bank of a river, and making a round roof above the vat, and thatching it well and snugly after that, and bringing a he-goat," said he, "and placing it beside the vat, and by my placing one foot on the back of the he-goat and the other on the edge of the vat. Whosoever should hit me so would work my death." "Yes," said she, "I thank God for that; it will be easy to escape from that." No sooner than she heard the

39 W ennein 40 W benn 41 42 W omits 43 R omits 44 W gyr 45 W ohonof 46 W uinheu 47 W a 48 W emyl 49 R a 50 R medrei 51 R velly 52 W wney 53 R ageu

y kauas hi yr ymadrawd<sup>54</sup> y hanuones hitheu att<sup>55</sup> Gronw Pebyr. Gronw a lauurywys gweith<sup>56</sup> y gwaew,<sup>57</sup> ar un dyd ym penn y ulwydyn<sup>58</sup> y bu barawt, ar dyd hwnnw y peris ef idi hi gwybot<sup>59</sup> hynny. "Arglwyd," heb<sup>60</sup> hi, "yd wyf yn medlyaw pa delw y gallei uot yn<sup>61</sup> wir yr hynn<sup>62</sup> a dywedeist<sup>63</sup> di<sup>63</sup> gynt wrthyf i, ac a dangossy di y mi pa ffuryf<sup>64</sup> y sauut ti ar ymyl<sup>65</sup> y gerwyn ar bwch, o pharaf<sup>66</sup> inheu<sup>67</sup> yr enneint?" "Dangossaf," heb ynteu. Hitheu a anuones att Ronw,<sup>68</sup> ac a erchis idaw uot<sup>69</sup> ygkyscawt<sup>70</sup> y brynn a elwir weithon Brynn Kyuergyr. (Yg<sup>71</sup> glan<sup>72</sup> auon Kynuael oed hynny.) Hitheu a beris kynnullaw a gauas o avyr<sup>73</sup> yn y cantref, ae dwyn yr<sup>74</sup> parth draw y<sup>75</sup> auon gyuarwyneb a Brynn Kyuergyr. A thrannoeth hi a dywawt,<sup>76</sup>—"Arglwyd," heb hi, "mi a bereis kyweiraw<sup>77</sup> y glwyt ar enneint,<sup>78</sup> ac<sup>79</sup> y maent yn barawt." "Ie," heb ynteu, "awn y<sup>80</sup> hedrych yn llawen." Wynt<sup>81</sup> a doethant drannoeth<sup>82</sup> y edrych yr enneint. "Ti a ey yr enneint<sup>83</sup>, arglwyd," heb hi. "Af yn llawen," heb ef. Ef a aeth yr enneint<sup>83</sup> ac ymeneinaw<sup>84</sup> a wnaeth. "Arglwyd," heb hi, "llyma yr aniuileit<sup>85</sup> a dywedeist<sup>86</sup> ti<sup>87</sup> uot bwch arnunt." "Ie," heb ynteu, "par dala un ohonunt, a phar y dwyn yma." Ef a ducpwyt y<sup>88</sup> bwch.<sup>88</sup> Yna y kyuodes ynteu or enneint,<sup>83</sup> a gwiscaw<sup>89</sup> y lawdyr amdanaw,<sup>90</sup> a<sup>91</sup> dodi<sup>92</sup> y neill troet idaw<sup>93</sup> ar ymyl<sup>94</sup> y gerwyn, ar llall ar geuyn y bwch. Ynteu Ronw<sup>95</sup> a gyuodes<sup>96</sup> y<sup>97</sup> uynyd or brynn<sup>98</sup> a elwir Brynn Kyuergyr ac ar benn<sup>99</sup> y neill glin y kyuodes, ac ar gwenwynwaew<sup>600</sup> y uwrw ae uedru yn y ystlys, yny neitta<sup>1</sup> y paladyr ohonaw, a thrigryw y penn yndaw. Ac yna bwrw ehetaan ohonaw ynteu yn rith eryr, a dodi garymleis anhygar,<sup>2</sup> ac ny chahat y welet ef o<sup>3</sup> hynny allan.<sup>4</sup> Yn gyn gyflymet ac yd aeth ef ymeith,<sup>5</sup> y kyrchyssant<sup>6</sup> wynteu y llys, ar nos honno kyscu y gyt. A thrannoeth kyuodi a oruc Gronw a goresgyn<sup>7</sup> Ardudwy. Gwedy<sup>8</sup> goresgyn<sup>9</sup> y wlat y gwledychu a wnaeth yny oed yn y eidaw ef Ardudwy a Phenllyn.

<sup>54</sup> W repeats noc after ymadrawd. <sup>55</sup> W at <sup>56</sup> W gueith <sup>57</sup> W guayw  
<sup>58</sup> R vlwydyn, <sup>59</sup> W guybot <sup>60</sup> R omits <sup>61-62</sup> R yn wir, omitting yr  
hynn; W yn hynn omitting yn wir <sup>63</sup> W dywedeisti <sup>64</sup> W furu  
<sup>65</sup> W emyl <sup>66</sup> W faraf <sup>67</sup> W uinheu <sup>68</sup> W gronw <sup>69</sup> W bot  
<sup>70</sup> R yghyscawt <sup>71-72</sup> W yglan <sup>73</sup> R auar <sup>74</sup> W or <sup>75</sup> R yr  
<sup>76</sup> W dywot <sup>77</sup> R kyweiryaw <sup>78</sup> W ennein <sup>79</sup> R omits <sup>90</sup> W eu  
<sup>81</sup> W wy <sup>82</sup> W trannoeth <sup>83</sup> W ennein <sup>84</sup> W ymeneinaw <sup>85</sup> R anniuileit  
<sup>86-87</sup> W dywedeisti <sup>88</sup> W omits <sup>89</sup> W guiscaw <sup>90</sup> R ymdanaw

word did she send it to Gronwy Pevr. Gronwy laboured at the work of the spear, and on the same day at the end of the year it was ready, and on that day he caused that to be known to her. "Lord," said she, "I am thinking how it could be true what thou didst tell me time ago, and wilt thou show me in what manner thou wouldst stand on the edge of the vat and the he-goat, if I prepare the bath?" "I will show," said he. She then sent to Gronwy, and bade him be under the lee of a hill that is now called Bryn Cyvergyd.\* (It was on the bank of the river Cynvael that that was.)† She then caused the gathering together of all the goats which she found in the cantrev, and the bringing of them to the side of a river opposite Bryn Cyvergyd. And on the morrow she said, "Lord," said she, "I have caused to be fixed the hurdle [roof] and the bath, and they are ready." "Yes," said he, "let us go to look at them, gladly." They came on the morrow to look at the bath. "Thou wilt go into the bath, lord," said she. "I will go gladly," said he. He went into the bath and bathed himself. "Lord," said she, "here are the animals of which thou didst say that 'he-goat' was on them."‡ "Yes," said he, "order one of them to be caught, and order it to be brought here." The he-goat was brought. Then he rose from the bath, and donned his trousers, and placed one of his feet on the edge of the vat, and the other on the back of the goat. Gronwy then rose up from the hill that is called Bryn Cyvergyd, and on one knee did he rise, and with the poisoned spear struck him, and hit him in his side, so that the shaft leapt from out of him, and the head remained in him. And then he [Llew] cast a flight in the form of an eagle, and gave a discordant screech, and he was not seen from that time forth. As quickly as he went away, they set out for the court, and that night they slept together. And on the morrow, Gronwy arose and conquered Ardudwy. After conquering the country, he ruled over it so that in his possession were Ardudwy and Penllyn.

\* Hill of the Blow. I have taken *Cyvergyr* as an error for *Cyvergyd*.

† Probably a gloss. The W reading *y auon* in the next sentence suggests an un-named river. ‡ i.e., "was their name."

91-92 W ac y dodes 93 W om:ts 94 W emyl 95 W gronw 96 R gyuotes  
97 W e 98 R bryn 99 R ben 600 W guenwynwayw 1 W neita 2 R  
anhegar 3-4 W odynd ymaes 5 W eymdeith 6 R kyrchas sant  
7 W guereskyn 8 W Guedy 9 W gwreskyn

Yna y chwedyl a aeth at Math uab Mathonwy. Trymuryt a goueileint a gym berth Math yndaw, a mwy Wydyon noc ynteu o<sup>10</sup> lawer. “ Arglwyd,” heb y Gwydyon,<sup>11</sup> “ ny orffowyssaf<sup>12</sup> uyth yny gaffwyf chwedleu y wrth uy nei.” “ Ie,” heb y Math, “ Duw a uo nerth itt.”<sup>13</sup> Ac yna kychwynnu a wnaeth ef a dechreu rodyaw racdaw, a rodyaw Gwyned a wnaeth a Phowys yn y theruyn. Gwedy<sup>14</sup> daruot idaw rodyaw uelly,<sup>15</sup> ef a doeth hyt<sup>16</sup> yn<sup>17</sup> Aruon, ac a doeth y ty uab eillt ym<sup>18</sup> maenawr<sup>19</sup> Bennard. Disgynnu<sup>20</sup> yn y ty a wnaeth, a thrig yw yno y nos honno. Gwr y ty ae dylwyth a doeth y mywn, ac yn diwethaf y doeth y meichat. Gwr y ty a dywawd<sup>21</sup> wrth y meichat, “ A<sup>22</sup> was,” heb ef, “ a doeth dy hwch di heno y mywn ? ” “ Doeth,” heb ynteu, “ yr awr honn y doeth att<sup>23</sup> y moch.” “ Pa<sup>24</sup> ryw gerdet,” heb y Gwydyon,<sup>25</sup> “ yssyd ar yr hwch honno ? ” “ Pan<sup>26</sup> agorer y creu beunydyd yd a allan ; ny cheir craff<sup>27</sup> arnei, ac ni wybydir pa fford<sup>28</sup> yd a, mwy no chynn<sup>29</sup> elei yn y daear.” “ A wney di,” heb y Gwydyon,<sup>25</sup> “ yrof i nat agorych y creu, yny uwyf<sup>30</sup> i yn y neillparth yr creu y gyt a thi ? ” “ Gwnaf yn llawen,” heb ef. Y gyscu<sup>31</sup> yd aethant y nos honno, a phan welas y meichat lliw y dyd, ef a deffroes Wydyon, a chyuodi a wnaeth Gwydyon a gwisgaw<sup>32</sup> amdanaw,<sup>33</sup> a dyuot y gyt ar<sup>34</sup> meichat,<sup>34</sup> a sefyll wrth y creu. Y meichat a agores y creu. Y gyt ac y hegyr, llyma hitheu yn bwrw neit allan, a cherdet yn braff<sup>35</sup> a wnaeth, a Gwydyon<sup>36</sup> ae kanlynwys, a chymryt gwrthwyneb auon a wnaeth, a chyrchu nant a wnaeth a elwir weithon Nantllew,<sup>37</sup> ac yno<sup>38</sup> gwastattau<sup>39</sup> a wnaeth a phori. Ynteu Wydyon a doeth y dan y prenn, ac a edrychawd<sup>40</sup> pa beth yd oed yr hwch yn y bori, ac ef a welei yr hwch yn pori kic pdwyr a chynroni. Sef a wnaeth ynteu, edrych ym blaen y prenn, a phan edrych, ef a welei eryr ym blaen y prenn, a phan ymyskytwei<sup>41</sup> yr eryr, y syrthei y pryuety ar

<sup>10</sup> W omits   <sup>11</sup> W guydion   <sup>12</sup> W orffwyssaf   <sup>13</sup> W yt   <sup>14-15</sup> W Guedy  
 rodyaw pob lle   <sup>16-17</sup> W y   <sup>18-19</sup> W ymaynawr   <sup>20</sup> W Diskynnu  
<sup>21</sup> W dywot   <sup>22</sup> R Ha   <sup>23</sup> W at   <sup>24</sup> W Ba   <sup>25</sup> W guydion   <sup>26</sup> W Ban  
<sup>27</sup> W craf   <sup>28</sup> W ford   <sup>29</sup> W chyn   <sup>30</sup> R vwyf   <sup>31</sup> R gysgu   <sup>32</sup> W guiscaw  
<sup>33</sup> R ymdanaw   <sup>34</sup> W omits   <sup>35</sup> W braf   <sup>36</sup> W guydion ; R gydyon



Then the news went to Math son of Mathonwy. Sorrow and care did Math take unto him, and Gwydion much more than he. "Lord," said Gwydion, "I will never rest until I get news of my nephew." "Yes," said Math, "God be strength to thee." And then he set out and began to travel forth, and he travelled Gwynedd and Powys in its boundary. After he had travelled so, he came as far as Arvon, and came to the house of a villein in the manor of Penardd. He dismounted in the house, and abode there that night. The man of the house and his household came in, and lastly came the swineherd. The man of the house said to the swineherd, "Youth," said he, "has thy sow come in to-night?" "It has," said he, "this moment has she come to the swine." "And what going," said Gwydion, "is on that sow?" "When the sty is opened every day she goes out; no hold may be gotten on her, and it will not be known which way she goes any more than if she were to go into the earth." "Wilt thou," said Gwydion, "for my sake, do this,—not open the sty until I be on one side of the sty with thee?" "I will do it gladly," said he. To sleep they went that night, and when the swineherd saw the hue of day, he awoke Gwydion, and Gwydion arose and clad himself, and came with the swineherd, and stood by the sty. The swineherd opened the sty. As soon as he opened it, behold her then taking a leap out, and she walked briskly, and Gwydion followed her, and she went up against a river, and went towards a valley that is called now Nantllew,\* and there she came to a halt and grazed. Gwydion then came under the tree, and looked to see what the sow was grazing on, and he could see the sow grazing on rotten flesh and maggots. This is what he did then, he looked into the top of the tree, and when he looked, he could see an eagle in the top of the tree, and when the eagle shook himself, the worms and the rotten flesh fell from him,

\* Correctly *Nantlleu*, modern *Nantlle*.

37 R nant y llew    38 W yna    39 W guastatau    40 W edrychwys  
41 R ymysgytwei

kie pwdyr ohonaw, ar hwch yn yssu y rei hynny. Sef a wnaeth ynteu, medyl yaw y<sup>42</sup> mae Llew<sup>43</sup> oed yr eryr, a chanu eglyn<sup>44</sup> :

Dar a dyf y rwng deu lenn  
gorduwrych awyr a glenn<sup>45</sup>  
ony dywedaf<sup>46</sup> i eu  
oulodeu Llew<sup>47</sup> pan<sup>48</sup> yw hynn.

Sef a wnaeth ynteu yr eryr, ymellwng nny uyd<sup>49</sup> yg kymherued y prenn. Sef a wnaeth ynteu Wydyon canu eglyn<sup>44</sup> arall :

Dar y dyf yn ard uaes  
nys<sup>50</sup> gwlych glaw nys<sup>50</sup> mwy tawd<sup>51</sup> [*tes*]<sup>51</sup>  
naw ugein angerd a borthes  
yn y blaen Llew<sup>59</sup> Llaw Gyffes.

Ac yna ymellwng (idaw ynteu<sup>52</sup>) yn y uyd yn y geing issaf or prenn<sup>53</sup> Canu eglyn<sup>54</sup> idaw ynteu yna :

Dar a dyf dan anwaeret  
mirein medyr<sup>55</sup> ym y welet<sup>56</sup>  
ony dywedaf i eu<sup>57</sup>  
dydaw<sup>58</sup> Llew<sup>59</sup> ym harffet,<sup>60</sup>

ac y dygwydawd ynteu ar lin Gwydyon. Ac yna y trewis Gwydyon ar<sup>61</sup> hutlath ynteu nny uyd yn y rith e hunan. Ny welsei neb ar wr dremynt<sup>62</sup> druanach<sup>63</sup> hagen noc a oed arnaw ef ; nyt<sup>64</sup> oed dim onyt croen ac ascwrn. Yna kyrchu Kaer Dathyl a wnaeth ef, ac yno y ducpwynt a gahat o uedic da yg Gwyned wrthaw. Kyn kyuyll yr ulwydyn, yd oed ef yn holliach. "Arglwyd," heb ef wrth Uath<sup>65</sup> uab Mathonwy, "madws oed y mi caffael<sup>66</sup> iawn gan y gwr y keueis ouut gantaw." "Dioer," heb y Math, "ny eill ef ymgynnal<sup>67</sup> ath iawn di gantaw." "Ie," heb ynteu, "goreu yw genhyf<sup>68</sup> i bo kyntaf y kaffwyf iawn." Yna dygyuoryaw Gwyned a wnaethant, a chyrchu Ardudwy. Gwydyon a gerdwys yn y blaen, a chyrchu Mur Castell a oruc. Sef a wnaeth Blodeued,<sup>69</sup> [*wedi*<sup>70</sup>] clybot eu bot yn dyuot,

<sup>42</sup> R omits <sup>43</sup> R llew <sup>44</sup> W englyn <sup>45</sup> R glen <sup>46</sup> R dywetaf <sup>47</sup> R W llew <sup>48</sup> W ban <sup>49</sup> W oed <sup>50</sup> W nis <sup>51</sup> R mw y tawd W mwy tawd ; *tes is a conjectural emendation* <sup>52</sup> *These words (= "to him") have probably crept in from the line below.* <sup>53</sup> W pren <sup>54</sup> W englyn <sup>55-56</sup> R W medur ym ywet <sup>57</sup> R W ef <sup>58</sup> W dydau <sup>59</sup> R W llew

and the sow was eating them. And this is what he did, he thought that it was Lleu that the eagle was, and sang an *englyn* :

Grows an oaktree between two lakes  
Darkly overshadowing sky and glen ;  
If I speak not falsely,  
It is the limbs (?) of Lleu that these are.

And what the eagle did then was to let himself down until he was in the middle of the tree. Gwydion then sang another *englyn* :

Grows an oaktree in the high glade,  
Nor rain wets it nor hath heat pierced it,  
Nine score fiercenesses\* hath it sustained,  
In its top is Lleu Llaw Gyffes.

And then he let himself down until he was in the lowest branch of the tree. He sang an *englyn* to him then :

Grows an oaktree under the slope  
A fair hitting of the mark for me to see him ;  
If I speak not falsely,  
Lleu will come into my lap,

and he dropped down on Gwydion's knee. And then Gwydion struck him with the magic wand so that he was in his own form. No one had seen on a man a more pitiful sight than there was on him ; he was nothing but skin and bone. Then he set out for Caer Dathal, and there were brought all the good physicians that were found in Gwynedd to [tend] him. Before the year was run, he was whole. "Lord," said he, to Math son of Mathonwy, "it were time that I should have atonement from the man from whom I had suffering." "In truth," said Math, "he cannot endure to have on him thy atonement." "Yes," said he, "the sooner I have atonement, the better I deem it." Then they mustered Gwynedd and marched to Ardudwy. Gwydion travelled in the van, and he sought Mur y Castell. And Blodeuwedd, after hearing that they were coming, took her maidens

\* i.e. the fierceness of nine score years.

<sup>60</sup> W arfet   <sup>61</sup> R a   <sup>62</sup> R tremynt   <sup>63</sup> R truanach   <sup>64</sup> W nit   <sup>65</sup> W math  
<sup>66</sup> R kaffel   <sup>67</sup> W ymgynhal   <sup>68</sup> R gennyf   <sup>69</sup> W blodeuwed   <sup>70</sup> not in MSS

kymryt y morynion y<sup>71</sup> gyt a hi, a chyrchu y mynyd, a thrwy auon Gynuael kyrchu llys a oed ar y mynyd; ac ny wydynt<sup>72</sup> gerdet rac ouyn<sup>73</sup> namyn ac eu hwyneb drae<sup>74</sup> keuyn, ac yna ny<sup>75</sup> wybuant yny syrthysant<sup>76</sup> yn y llynn, ac y bodyssant oll eithyr hi e hunan. Ac yna y gordiwawd<sup>77</sup> Gwydyon hitheu, ac y dywawt<sup>78</sup> wrthi. “Ny ladaf i di, mi a wnaf yssyd waeth itt; sef yw hynny,” heb<sup>79</sup> ef,<sup>80</sup> “dy ellwng yn rith aderyn, ac o achaws y kywilyd<sup>81</sup> a wnaethost ti<sup>82</sup> y Lew Llaw Gyffes, na beidych<sup>83</sup> ditheu dangos dy wyneb liw dyd byth,<sup>84</sup> a hynny rac ouyn yr holl adar, a<sup>85</sup> bot gelynyaeth y rynghot ar holl adar,<sup>86</sup> a bot yn anyan udunt dy uaeu ath amherchi y lle yth<sup>87</sup> gaffont,<sup>88</sup> ac na chollych dy enw, namyn dy alw uyth<sup>89</sup> yn<sup>90</sup> Blodeuwed.” (Sef yw Blodeuwed, tylluan or ieith yr awr honn, ac o achaws hynny y mae digassawc yr adar yr tylluan, ac ef a elwir ettwa<sup>91</sup> y dylluan<sup>92</sup> yn Vlodeuwed.<sup>69</sup>)

Ynteu Gronwy<sup>93</sup> Pebyr a gyrchwys Pennllynn,<sup>94</sup> ac odyo ymgennattau<sup>95</sup> a wnaeth. Sef kennadwri a anuones, gouyn a wnaeth y Lew Llaw Gyffes a uynnei<sup>96</sup> ae tir a<sup>97</sup> dayar ae eur ac<sup>98</sup> ariant am y sarhaet. “Na chymeraf, y Duw y<sup>99</sup> dygaf uyg kyffes,” heb ef, “a llyma y peth lleiaf a gymeraf y gantaw,—mynt yr lle yd<sup>700</sup> oedwn i ohonaw ef pan<sup>1</sup> ym<sup>2</sup> byryawd ar par, a minheu y lle yd<sup>700</sup> oed ynteu, a gadael<sup>3</sup> y minheu y vwrw ef a phar, a hynny yn<sup>4</sup> lleiaf<sup>5</sup> peth a gymeraf y gantaw.” Hynny a uenegit y Ronw<sup>6</sup> Bebyr.<sup>7</sup> “Ie,” heb ynteu, “dir yw y mi gwneuthur hynny. Vyg<sup>8</sup> gwyrda<sup>9</sup> kywir am teulu am brodyr maeth, a oes ohonawch chwi a gymero yr ergyt<sup>10</sup> drossof i?” “Nac oes dioer,” heb wynteu.<sup>11</sup> (Ac o achaws gomed ohonunt wy diodef un ergyt<sup>10</sup> dros eu harglwyd y gelwir wynteu yr hynny hyt hediw trydyd anniweir<sup>12</sup> deulu.) “Ie,” heb ef, “mi ae kymeraf.” Ac yna y doethant yll<sup>13</sup> deu hyt ar lann<sup>14</sup> auon Gynuael, ac yna y seuis<sup>15</sup> Gronwy<sup>16</sup> Bebyr<sup>17</sup> yn y lle yd oed Llew Llaw Gyffes pan<sup>1</sup> y byryawd ef, a Llew yn y lle yd oed ynteu. Ac yna y dywawt<sup>18</sup>

71 W omits 72 W wydyn 73 R ovyn 74 W tra eu 75 W ni

76 R syrthassant 77 R gordiwedawd 78 W dywot 79 80 R omits

81 R kewilyd 82 R di 83 W ueidych 84 R vyth 85-86 R omits 87 W ith

88 W gaffant 89 R vyth 90 R omits 91 W etwa 92 R tylluan

93 R gronw 94 W penllyn 95 W yngynnataw 96 R vynnei 97 R W ae

98 R W ae 99 W omits 700 R yr 1 W ban 2 W im 3 W gadel

4 W omits 5 W leiaf 6 W gronw 7 R pebyr

with her and made for the mountain-land and, over Cynvael river, made for a court that was on the mountain, and they could not walk from fear but by looking back, [lit., with their face over their back], and then they knew nothing till they fell in the lake, and they were all drowned, except herself. And then did Gwydion overtake her, and said to her: "I will not kill thee, I will do thee a worse evil; that is," said he, "I will send thee away in the form of a bird, and on account of the shame which thou wroughtest on Llew Llaw Gyffes, that thou dare not show thy face in the daylight for ever, and that for the fear of all the birds; and that there be enmity between thee and all the birds, and that it be their nature to beat thee and illtreat thee wherever they find thee, and that thou lose not thy name, but that thou shalt be called for ever Blodeuwedd." (And what Blodeuwedd is, is "owl" in the tongue of to-day, and it is for that reason that the birds are inimical to the owl, and the owl is still called Blodeuwedd).\*

As for Gronwy Pevr, he set out for Penllyn, and thence he sent envoys. And the message he sent was this,—he asked Llew Llaw Gyffes whether he would have land and soil or gold and silver for his *sarhaed*.† "I will not take [them], to God I bring my confession," said he, "and this is the least thing that I will take from him, that he go into the place where I was, when he struck me with the spear, and I to the place where he was, and allow me to strike him with a spear, and that is the least thing that I shall take from him." That was told Gronwy Pevr. "Yes," said he, "unavoidable it is that I should do that. My trusty nobles, and my household, and my foster-brothers, is there of you [one] who will take the blow for me?" "There is not, in truth," said they. (And because they refused to suffer one blow for their lord, they are called, from that time to this, one of the Three Faithless Households.)\* "Yes," said he, "I will take it." And they both came to the bank of Cynvael river, and then Gronwy Pevr stood in the place where Llew Llaw Gyffes was when he struck him, and Llew in the place where he was. And then Gronwy

\* Probably a gloss. † Compensation for insult.

<sup>8</sup> W Wygyrda <sup>10</sup> R ergit <sup>11</sup> W wynt <sup>12</sup> R aniweir <sup>13</sup> R ell  
<sup>14</sup> W lan <sup>15</sup> W sevit <sup>16</sup> R gronw <sup>16</sup> R omits <sup>17</sup> W ban <sup>18</sup> R dwawt;  
 W dywot

Gronwy<sup>16</sup> Bebyr wrth Lew<sup>19</sup>, “Arglwyd,” heb ef, “kany<sup>s</sup> o drycystryw gwreic y gwneuthum i<sup>20</sup> ytti<sup>21</sup> a wneuthum, minheu<sup>22</sup> a archaf y ti yr Duw, llech a welaf ar lan yr auon, gadel ym<sup>23</sup> dodi honno y rynghof<sup>24</sup> ar dyrnawt.” “Dioer,” heb y Llew, “nyth<sup>25</sup> ommedaf<sup>26</sup> o hynny.” “Ie,” heb ef, “Duw a dalho<sup>27</sup> itt.”<sup>28</sup> Ac yna y kym<sup>er</sup>th Gronwy<sup>29</sup> y llech, ac y dodes y ryngtaw ar ergyt,<sup>30</sup> ac yna y byryawd Llew ef ar par, ac y gwant<sup>31</sup> y llech trwydi,<sup>32</sup> ac ynteu drwyd<sup>aw</sup> yny dyrr y geuyn,<sup>33</sup> ac yna y llas Gronwy<sup>34</sup> Bebyr.<sup>35</sup> (Ac yno y mae y llech ar lann<sup>36</sup> auon Gynuael yn Ardudwy ar twll trwydi,<sup>32</sup> ac o achaws hynny ettwa y gelwir hi<sup>37</sup> Llech Gronwy.<sup>34</sup>) Ynteu Llew Llaw Gyffes eilweith<sup>38</sup> a oresgynn<sup>wys</sup><sup>39</sup> y wlat, ac ae gwledych<sup>wys</sup> y llwydan<sup>hus</sup><sup>40</sup>. (A herwyd y dyweit y kyuarwydyt ef a uu arglwyd wedy hynny ar Wyned).

Ac yuelly<sup>41</sup> y teruyna y geing honn or mabinogi.

<sup>19</sup> W llew   <sup>20</sup> W omits   <sup>21</sup> W yti   <sup>22</sup> R minneu   <sup>23</sup> R im   <sup>24</sup> R ryngof  
<sup>25</sup> W nith   <sup>26</sup> W omedaf   <sup>27</sup> R dalo   <sup>28</sup> W it   <sup>29</sup> R gronw   <sup>30</sup> R ergit  
<sup>31</sup> W quant   <sup>32</sup> W drwydi   <sup>33</sup> W geuynn   <sup>34</sup> R gronw   <sup>35</sup> R pebyr  
<sup>36</sup> W lan   <sup>37</sup> W omits   <sup>38-39</sup> W a oreskynn<sup>wys</sup> eilweith   <sup>40</sup> R llwydyannus  
<sup>41</sup> R velly.

Pevr said to Llew,—“lord,” said he, “since it is by a woman’s evil trickery that I did thee that which I did, I beg of thee for God’s sake—a stone I see on the bank of the river,—to allow me to place it between me and the blow.” “In truth,” said Llew, “I will not refuse thee that.” “Yes,” said he, “God repay thee.” And then Gronwy took the stone, and he placed it between him and the blow, and then Llew struck him with the spear, and he pierced the stone through, and him through so that it broke [through] his back, and then was Gronwy Pevr† slain. (And there is the stone on the bank of the river Cynvael in Ardudwy with the hole through it, and on that account it is still called the stone of Gronwy).\* Then Llew Llaw Gyffes conquered the country again, and ruled over it prosperously. (And according as the *cyfarwyddyd* says, he was lord after that over Gwynedd).\*

And thus ends this Branch of the Mabinogi.

\* Probably a gloss. † His epithet is given as *Bebr* and *Pebr*. The former is the mutated form of the latter. I have also taken the medial *b* as unmutated for *v*.

NOTE. Words in round brackets in the above translation are probably glosses or late additions. Italics denote a conjectural reading.

# NOTES TO TEXT

P. L.

- 4 12 We have here what looks like a double gloss, that is a gloss upon a gloss, and both incorporated in the text. It is likely that the present text was evolved as follows:

TEXT.

GLOSSES.

## 1st Stage.

<p>" . . . Aniueileit <i>bychein</i> gwell eu kic no chic eidon." "Pwy biewynt hwy?" "Pryderi uab Pwyll yd anuonet idaw o Annwn y gan Arawn urenhin Annwn."</p>	<p>Bychein ynt wynteu, ac y maent yn symudaw enweu, "moch" y gelwir weithon. Ac etwa yd ys yn cadw or enw hwnnw, 'hanner hob.'</p>
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## 2nd Stage.

<p>" . . . Aniueileit <i>bychein</i> gwell eu kic no chic eidon." Bychein ynt wynteu ac y maent yn symudaw enweu, 'moch' y gelwir weithon. "Pwy biewynt hwy?" Pryderi uab Pwyll yd anuonet idaw o Annwn y gan Arawn urenhin Annwn." Ac etwa yd ys yn cadw or enw hwnnw '<i>hannerhob</i>.'</p>	<p>hanner hwch.</p>
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## 3rd Stage.

As in present text.

- 6 16 *Aeth ef yn y gelwydodeu.* This phrase is also found in Irish. Cf. *Lottar iaramh na droithe a n. . . .* [*sic*. representing a hole in the MS.] *nghin a bhfis agus a n-eoluis.* "Then the druids went . . . their knowledge and their learning." *Cath Fiondchoradh*, ZCP, XIV, p. 398.



- 13 4 Gwydion overcame Pryderi by the help of magic and enchantment. The following account of a trial by combat in 1380 between Sir John Annerley and Thomas Katrington is very much to the point here. "The Constable then required each one to swear on a missal that they possessed no other weapons, nor possessed 'any means of Assistances extraordinary, or Magical Stone, Plant, Charm or Character or any sort of magical Business by which you expect to gain a more easy Conquest.'" *Murder, Piracy, and Treason*, p. 74.
- 17 32 "I know not, lord, but that I am." This does not necessarily mean that there was any doubt in Arianrhod's mind about her own virginity. This form of expression is common in the Celtic languages as a kind of meiosis. Cf. "Mata," ar'sise, "'cha'n 'eil fhios agam nach h-e sin a's fhearr dhomh a dheanamh." "Indeed," said she, "I do not know but that it is best for me to do it." *FHT*, 186.
- 19 24 The Marvellous Growth is a common-place of tales about heroes, especially Celtic heroes. Compare the account of Pryderi in *Pwyll*, and of Eochaid Bres in the *Battle of Moytura*, (*RC*, XII, 63): "When a week after the woman's lying in was complete, the boy had a fortnight's growth; and he maintained that increase till the end of his (first) seven years, when he reached a growth of fourteen years."
- 25 22 *Baptized her with the baptism which they practised at that time.* This is a common phrase in the Mabinogion to convey the fact that all the happenings in the story took place before the period of the baptism of our day, that is to say, before Christianity. Similar phrases occur also in the Irish stories. Cf. Curtin, *HT*, p. 51: "They brought in the priest of whatever religion was in it at the time (to be sure, it was not Catholic priests were in Erin in those days) and Mor's son and the King's daughter were married."
- Henderson (*Survivals*, p. 216), says: "... the lustral rite itself, there can be no question, was known in pre-Christian times. The *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaib* refers to the 'pagan Baptism' as well as other Gadhelic texts."
- 27 26 A parallel to the giving of a cantrev as a young man's *gosymdeith* is found in *OCR*, p. 184.

- 31 21 *The magic spear.* Cf. "Seven years they spent in making their weapons, because there could be found but one day in the year to make their spears." Douglas Hyde, *Literary History*, p. 342. "But in Germany it is not every stick that is good enough to beat an absent man with. It should be a hazel rod cut before sunrise on Good Friday." *Golden Bough*, I, Vol. 2, p. 207.

- ✓ 35 11 Swine were certain guides to the Otherworld. "A story was told of a certain Glast, or Glasteing, who having lost his (here, eight-footed!) swine, found them on this spot [Glastonbury] under an apple tree." *Quest of the Holy Grail*, p. 58. A hunter followed certain pigs into a cave, and arrived at the fairy palace of Bri Léith. *RC*, xvi, p. 241; O'Curry, *Lectures on Materials*, p. 283. There is an excellent example of a sow as guide to where a body is buried in *TWH*, i, p. 344.

- 36 10 *Nys gawlych glaw nys mwytarwd tes* suggests that these englynion may be part of a description of the Other World. Compare these lines in the *Phoenix*, (*Voyage of Bran*, p. 243):

Non ibi tempestas, nec vis furit horrida venti,  
Nec gelido terram rore pruina tegit;  
Nulla super campos tendit sua vellera nubes,  
Nec cadit ex alto turbidus humor aquae.

NOTE. The text as printed in this volume is based on Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's editions of the two manuscripts, *The White Book of Rhydderch*, denoted by *W*, and *The Red Book of Hergest*, denoted by *R*. For some information as to the dates of these MSS., see *RWM*, i. p. 305; ii, p. 1, and *WB*, pp. viii ff.; *RB*, pp. xiii ff. The orthographical peculiarities of the two MSS. justify the conclusion that they are derived from a common archetype written not later than the 12th century. There are insuperable objections to Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's statement, (*WB*, p. vii) that "the text of the White Book . . . is I believe the original of the Hergest text."

PART I.  
THE KING AND HIS PROPHESED DEATH

♦

*Introductory.*

§1. It will be difficult for any reader, however well versed in the study of story-themes, to follow the argument in these pages, unless he has some idea of the conclusions to which the argument tends. Some of those conclusions are therefore given here in a very condensed form, in the hope that they may give the reader a little guidance in threading his way through the maze. This study seeks to establish the conclusion that the Mabinogi of *Math vab Mathonwy* is a complex of two main themes with several subsidiary themes. Those two main themes are :

A. The King, whom we shall here call Beli, and who in the mabinogi is called Math, has a daughter Arianrhod whose son Lleu is destined to kill him on his (Lleu's) wedding night with a specially prepared spear. The King seeks to avoid his destiny : first, by making his daughter his foot-holder, to ensure her virginity. Gwydion, however, has access to her and begets a son. Next, the King, to avoid his fate, swears upon his grandson a destiny, (1) that he shall have no name, (2) that he shall have no arms, (3) that he shall have no wife, that is, no wedding. Gwydion by the aid of his magic overcomes the three prohibitions, and Lleu kills his grandfather in the manner prophesied of him.

B. The King has a wife Goewin who, with her lover Gilvaethwy, conspires to transform her husband into three animals in succession. He later regains his own shape and punishes Gilvaethwy and Goewin by transforming them into the same three animals. In each animal transformation they have offspring. These three animals are called Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, and Hychtwn.

To these main themes are added many minor themes, each of which has caused its own complexity. Of the minor themes the most important are (1) a story analogous to the Irish story of Cúroí mac Dairi, and (2) the folk-lore of the Owl, Blodeuwedd. The whole of this complicated mass is joined to the mythology of Llew or Lleu, Lugus the patron of shoemakers, and Lugus the marksman.

§2. A short general introduction to the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* has already appeared in the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1922-3 (pp. 14-80), to which was added a brief inquiry into the origins of one portion of the First Branch, *Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*. Some indication was there given of the method which I proposed to adopt in my general inquiry, that method being, for the most part, a comparison of the leading portions of the mabinogi with similar tales found in Ireland, a Celtic country which has been much more tenacious of its old traditions than Wales. In this study it is proposed to examine the Fourth Branch, *Math son of Mathonwy*, comparing it with its Irish and other analogues. It is thus hoped that the original themes, of which *Math* is in many respects the most interesting development, may stand clear of their secondary accretions. Those accretions will be studied in turn, and each will be traced as far as possible to its original form. The result will be seen to comprise a vast conglomeration of themes, most of them, if not all, appearing in a truncated and sometimes hardly distinguishable form. The difficulty is to know where to begin, but the main themes seem on analysis to stand out clearly as (1) the story of *Balor and his Grandson*, and (2) the story of *Balor's Unfaithful Wife*.

*Resumé of Math.*

§3. The whole *Mabinogi* as translated above may well puzzle the investigator. Its complexity will be thrown into still greater relief if it is read in the form of a resumé, but here at least we shall have got rid of the more irritating details.

principles on which such a resumé is made must naturally be arbitrary, but as it is intended to return to each detail in the full story, not much harm will be done if we happen to relegate what may turn out to be vital elements to a secondary position.

Math, son of Mathonwy, was lord of Gwynedd. He was a magician, and had a peculiarity or *cynnedd*. He could not live unless his feet were on the lap of a virgin. His virgin foot-holder was a maiden called Goewin. There was, however, one exception to this,—he did not need the maiden when he was making war. His nephew Gilvaethwy fell in love with Goewin, and with the help of his brother Gwydion, fomented war between Gwynedd and Dyved, so that he might have his will of the maiden during his uncle's absence. Not only was Goewin despitefully entreated, but her maidens were treated in the same way.

When Math returned, Goewin advised him to get another foot-holder, as she was no longer a virgin. Having punished his nephews, he chose their sister Arianrhod as his foot-holder but first of all he tested her virginity by making her step over his magic wand. When she did that, she gave birth to a son, who was "baptized" Dylan eil Ton, and who immediately took to the sea, swimming as well as any fish. But at the same time, Arianrhod left "something of her" behind, which Gwydion immediately hid in a chest. In due time, this "something" appeared from the chest as a boy.

Nothing more is said of Goewin, nor of a further attempt by Math to obtain a foot-holder. After some years Gwydion took the boy, whom he greatly loved, to the mother. Arianrhod was very indignant that he should thus "pursue her shame," and swore on the child three destinies; the first, that he should never have a name

unless she gave it ; the second, that he should never have arms unless she armed him ; the third, that he should never have a wife from any race known on earth. Gwydion disguised himself and the boy, and by a trick of magic, caused Arianrhod to name the boy Llew (Lleu) Llawgyffes. By a similar trick he caused her to arm him, and finally by the help of Math he made Llew a wife out of flowers and called her Blodeuwedd.

[This is the end of the main theme. The rest of the story, as we shall see, is concerned with the unfaithfulness of Blodeuwedd and her intrigue with a lover, Gronwy Pebr or Pevr, but it contains one disguised portion of what will turn out to be the main theme, viz.], Llew could not be killed except in a certain position and with a specially prepared spear. Instead of dying, Llew was transformed into an eagle, and Gwydion, having with great difficulty found him, transformed him back by magic to his own shape. He then, with the same spear, killed Gronwy Pevr, who was made to stand in the same position as Llew stood in.

### *The Difficulties in Math.*

§4. In reading the unabridged story of *Math*, we are at once impressed by the exceptional skill of the author<sup>1</sup> in linking together its different portions, and in keeping up the interest of what is clearly, upon examination, a composite and complex collection of originally unrelated incidents. We may here, in passing, note another excellency, that of the characterization, which is a guarantee of the unity among the different "branches" of the Mabinogion, and which forms, perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> The word "author" is used throughout this study as a convenient name for the person or probable series of persons who brought together the material here represented, and welded it into a more or less coherent form.

their highest claim to artistic merit. When, however, we come to examine such an unadorned summary as we have above, all this charm disappears ; the art which made credible this collection of irrelevant detail being removed, we are at once face to face with difficulties,—incoherences and improbabilities,—which can be solved only after a study of the tale as a whole. We shall now proceed to map out our enquiry by tabulating some of the main difficulties involved in *Math*.

(1.) The Mabinogi is called the *Mabinogi of Math son of Mathonwy*. Judging by the analogy of the other three Branches, we should expect it to contain the history of Math himself. On the contrary, Math is not even a secondary character like Gwydion, or a tertiary character like Pryderi or Gronwy Pevr. The title suggests that originally it was a story about Math ; in fact the commencement of the tale distinctly indicates a Math story ; it has his name at its head and in its first sentences, and his very interesting *cynnedd* or peculiarity is mentioned. What change has taken place which can account for this inconsistency ?

(2.) Why could not Math live unless he had his feet in a virgin's lap ? The story, as we have it, supplies no explanation of this strange *cynnedd*.

(3.) At the commencement of the tale, Goewin is a character of prime importance. But after Gilvaethwy's intrigue has been discovered, and her atonement has been paid, not another word is said about her. Why is not her child mentioned rather than Arianrhod's, who takes her place ? In short, why does Arianrhod take her place in the story ? Similar stories, especially Irish ones, would lead us to expect here a *compert*,—a "conception" theme.

(4.) If war was necessary for Gilvaethwy's purpose, why this exceedingly involved method of causing it ?



(5.) Why this particular punishment of Gwydion and Gilvaethwy? In the *Mabinogion*, punishment was usually devised to suit the crime, as in the case of Gronwy in this very story. Two other instances of the punishment not fitting the crime are found in the *Four Branches*. In *Pwyll*, Rhiannon is punished for having destroyed her son, by being forced to carry strangers on her back to the court; and in *Branwen*, Branwen is punished for her brother's misdeeds by being sent from the court to bake in the kitchen, where she is struck by the butcher on his visits. In both cases, I hope to be able to demonstrate in another volume that we have, in the incongruity of the punishment, the indispensable clue to the origin of the tale.<sup>2</sup>

(6.) Their punishment was extended over three years. During this time Math was without a virgin foot-holder, which is in flat contradiction to the beginning of the tale. Likewise, there is no account of how he was supplied after Arianrhod was proved to have lost her virginity.

(7.) What was the "little thing" which Arianrhod left behind her, and why should Gwydion hide it?

(8.) Why did Arianrhod swear these particular destinies upon her child? How could it make her shame any the less to prevent him from having a name, arms, and a wife?

(9.) What is the explanation of the incoherent account of Dylan eil Ton?

The above are a few of the questions that suggest themselves to an enquirer into this branch of the *Mabinogi*. Let us say, at once, that we cannot, with our necessarily limited knowledge of the story-themes of medieval Wales, pretend to give a

<sup>2</sup> In the original forms of the stories, Rhiannon was accused of giving birth to a foal, and Branwen, in one variant, of having killed her child, and in another, of being the mother of a fairy-child.

complete answer to all the questions, but we can, by means of cognate tales in Ireland throw considerable light upon them, and indicate, rather more accurately than it is possible in the case of *Branwen* for instance, the different layers of tradition underlying this Mabinogi.

*Two Ways of Answering the Questions.*

§5. Let us consider for a moment the second question, namely, why could not Math live unless he had his feet in a virgin's lap? This question plainly involves two answers, of which one would explain the relation of this incident to the rest of the story, which is left unexplained in *Math* itself; the other would attempt to give the anthropological or folk-lore explanation of this peculiarity. It is perhaps not unnecessary here to point out that with the second of these answers the present study is not at all concerned. We shall be satisfied if we can show how the incident came into the story; we must refrain from going into the wider questions which are in the province of the anthropologist. In short, our concern is with the last phases only of the development of that body of tradition which eventually took the form of Mabinogion,—those stages wherein it became a conscious literary effort. The earlier stages of mythology and folk-lore will be considered only when they are necessary to throw light on the later.

§6. This interesting peculiarity of Math could no doubt be partly explained by reference to primitive ritual. It might be suggested that we have here the magic position for safety, just as the peculiar position of Llew in the latter part of the tale may be the magic position for death. It is unsafe to discount altogether the anthropological significance of this mysterious *cynnedd* of the King, however clearly we may be able to show that reason for its inclusion which arises from the nature of an older version. For it often happens that a vital incident in a composite story may owe its preservation in any given form to

the existence of a tradition in folk-lore which may be similar to it, though entirely unrelated. The anthropologist may justly claim that such a record falls within his purview. We are, indeed, strongly reminded here of a well-known story about another king, who,

“was old and stricken in years : and they covered him with clothes, but he gat no heat. Wherefore his servants said unto him, Let there be sought for my lord the king a young virgin ; and let her stand before the king, and let her cherish him, and let her lie in thy bosom, that the lord my king may get heat. So they sought for a fair damsel throughout all the coasts of Israel, and found Abishag, a Shunammite, and brought her to the king. And the damsel was very fair, and cherished the king, and ministered to him ; but the king knew her not.”<sup>3</sup>

We have a few instances of similar customs elsewhere. Shilluk kings, for example, are put to death when they become enfeebled, by being placed in a specially built hut, and the king's head is then laid in the lap of a virgin.<sup>4</sup>

§7. Now it is easy, as it has been too often done in the past, to suggest that the account of the foot-holder in *Math* has been coloured by the scriptural story ; it is equally easy to suggest that we have here a survival of a ritual position, and both suggestions may be based on fact, though at present we have not sufficient data to prove or disprove it. Such explanations,

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings 1, 1-4. I am indebted to Sir J. G. Frazer for calling my attention to this passage.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer, *Golden Bough*,—*Dying God*, p. 21. From the anthropologist's point of view, *Math* and *Goewin* seem to suggest an ancient ritual of king-priest and virgin-priestess, especially as in *Math*, the other virgins of the court are mentioned. Comparing with the account given of the treatment of the attendant virgins the story about Blodeuwedd's maidens later on in the *mabinogi*, we find two instances in *Math* of the attendant virgins being treated in the same way as their mistress. The anthropologist might possibly suggest that we have here traces of the ancient ritual of the deflowering of the virgins in an Adonis cult.

however, do not even begin to show why *this* particular king, the Math whose story, such as it is, is set forth in the mabinogi, should depend for his life upon this position. As we have said before, we must try to explain this peculiarity not as an anthropologist would, by reference to primitive custom, but as an element in the structure of this story; those other explanations, therefore, are insufficient, since it is clear that the teller of a story utilises survivals like these as pegs upon which to hang, at different points, the tale which he has woven. It is right to mention here that we have taken for granted that the phrase *ny bydei vyw*, "would not live," "vividus non esset," means that otherwise, for some reason or other, Math would die or be killed. The words are reminiscent of a well-known Irish idiom which, however, has not always this positive meaning. Sometimes the idiom simply means "cannot suffer it," as in this example,—*Cha bhi mise beò ma bhios an gille air an aon bhòrd ri m'rioh*,—"I shall not live if the lad be at the same table with my king."<sup>5</sup> The immediate institution in old Welsh life which has suggested the virgin's lap in this passage is, of course, that of the royal foot-holder, as described in the *Laws*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *WS*, (Argyle Series) II, p. 40. So in Gwynedd, *Fedrai ddim byw a dy glywad ti'n siarad fel yna*,—"I cannot live and hear you talk like that." Cf. also "The queen . . . had ill-feeling towards the children. She took to her bed and *would not live* if he would not do something or other with them." (*WIFT*, p. 85).

<sup>6</sup> The foot-holder (*troedawc*) was one of the officers of the King's court. This is what the Welsh Laws say of him: "It is the *troedawc*'s right to sit under the king's feet, and to eat out of the same dish as he. He lights the first candle in the king's presence at meat; and yet he has a mess of food and liquor, because he has no share in the banquet. His land he has free and a horse in attendance from the king, and his portion of the silver of the hostels. (*Welsh Medieval Law*, p. 26). The fore-sitter of a cantrev, that is, the *troedawc*, pays a vat of bragget to the King every year, (*ibid*, p. 99). The protection of a *troedawc* is from the time he sits under the king's feet until the king goes to the chamber, (*ibid*, p. 5). His duty is to hold the king's feet in his lap from the time he begins to sit at the carousal until he goes to sleep, and it is his duty to scratch (*kossy*) the king." (*Glossary of Mediaeval Welsh Law*, p. 281.)

*Llew Llawgyffes.*

§8. To return to the first difficulty. We have seen from a perusal of the *mabinogi* that, though it goes by the name of Math son of Mathonwy, he is by no means either the hero or the villain of the piece. The tale, as it stands, is plainly the history of Llew Llawgyffes, who from the moment of the recording of his birth, dominates its action. If the *mabinogi* has any unity at all, then the first part, the history of Math, Gwydion, and Arianrhod, previous to Llew's birth, should be an introduction, a preparation for the appearance of Llew. As we shall see, after our researches have progressed a little further, the introductory portion is essentially of this nature.

§9. What is known of Llew Llawgyffes in Welsh literature other than the *Mabinogi of Math*? The quotations given below contain references to Llew some of which may be thought to represent traditions independent of the *mabinogi*.

(a). *Bet llew llaugyfes y dan ach(l)es mor*

*Yny bu y gywnes.*

*Gur (oet) (hwnnu) guir y neb ny rotes.*<sup>7</sup>

"The grave of Llew Llawgyffes under the tide of the sea,

Where his kinsman was,

A man that gave right to no one."

The last line may be compared with a similar phrase in the Irish tales. "He gave an oath that he himself was the

<sup>7</sup> This is a stanza from the "*Englynion of the Graves*," *BBC*, p. 66; *FAB* II, p. 31. In the first line *achles*, "protection," is clearly a scribal error for *aches*, "tide," "flowing," a common word in connection with *môr*. *Hwnnu* (= "Ille") and *oet*, "was," make the third line too long, but do not affect the meaning. *Llew* should clearly be transliterated *lleu* as *ev* for *eu* is common in this poem, e.g. *piev*=*pieu*. The scribe first wrote *llenn*, then placed *puncta delentia* under *nn*, and wrote *v* above.

choice champion of the Fenians, . . . a man to compel justice and right, but not give either justice or right.”<sup>8</sup>

(b). *Ban deuaw o caer seon*  
*O imlat ac itewon.*  
*Itaw caer lev a gwidion.*<sup>9</sup>

“It is from Caer Seon that I come  
 From fighting with Jews.  
 I go to the *caer* of Lleu and Gwydion.”

It is probable that the second line, “from fighting with Jews,” should be discounted as an attempt to identify *Seon* with *Zion*. The verse implies that three caers are in proximity, Caer Seon, Caer Leu, Caer Wydion. The second is certainly Din Lleu (Mod. W. Dinlle) on which more later. Caer Wydion and Caer Seon have not so far been identified.<sup>10</sup> Caer Seon is also referred to by Ierwerth Beli<sup>11</sup> (circa 1300):

*Pan aeth Maelgwn Hir o dir mab Don duedd*  
*O wledd Gwalch Gorsed[d] i Gaer Seion.*

“When Maelgwn Hir went from the border of the  
 land of the son of Dôn  
 From the feast of Gwalch Gorsedd to Caer Seion.”

Here the son of Dôn is,\* of course, Gwydion. The whole poem has been modernised in orthography, and it is fair to assume that *Seion* has taken the place of an older *Seon*. *Seion* is a very late spelling, due to the influence of the English pronunciation *Zion*, instead of the more usual *Sion* (i.e., Sïon).

<sup>8</sup> Curtin, *HT*, p. 386. So also in Welsh: *ny rotei gwir y alon* “he did not give truth (i.e. his rights) to his enemies.” *BBC*, p. 68; *FAB* ii, p. 34.  
<sup>9</sup> *BBC*, p. 102; *FAB*, ii, p. 57. <sup>10</sup> Unless it is for *Caer Seint* (Caernarvon) by a “learned” formation from *Segontium*, which, however, regularly gives *Seint*, Mod. W., *Saint*. *Bryn Gwydion* (in the local dialect, *Bryn Gwdion*) is a name found near Dinlle. <sup>11</sup> *MA*, p. 318a.

(c). *Neu leu a gwydyon*  
*A uuant geludyon*  
*Neu awdant lyfryron.*<sup>12</sup>

“It is Lleu and Gwydion  
 Who were skilful in the magic art,  
 They know the books.”

(d). *Bum ygkat godeu gan lleu a gwydyon*  
*(Wy) a rithwys gwyd eluyd ac elestron.*<sup>13</sup>

“I was in the Battle of the Trees with Lleu and Gwydion,  
 Who make, by magic, the trees of earth and (or, from)  
 sedges.”<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *RBP*, p. 20; *FAB* ii, p. 302. A fragment of the latter part of this poem is the first item in *BT*.

<sup>13</sup> *BT*, p. 33; *FAB* ii, p. 154. I am not at all satisfied with the translation. The reference is presumably to the making of the ships and the leather; so some reconstruction of the last line may be necessary, as

*A rithwys geluyd gwyd ac elestron.*

“Who made,—the magician,—trees from sedge.”

For this sense of *celuydd* see (c) above, and compare the phrase in *Math*, *mynet yn y geluydodeu*, “went into his magic arts,” *RB*, p. 61.

<sup>14</sup> In the *RBP* poem mentioned above, we find

*Neu bum gan wyr keluydon*  
*Gan uath hen gan gouannon*  
*Gan euuyd gan elestron.*

The corresponding portion in *BT*, p. 3 (*FAB*, ii, 108) begins with the third line:

*gan ieuwyd gan elestron*

It seems to mean

“I have been with men skilful-in-magic  
 With Math Hen, with Govannon;  
 With . . . ? with *elestron* (sedges ?).”

If *euuydd* above is not an error for *eveyd* (= *Hyfeidd*, in Mod. W. spelling), and if the reading of *BT*, *ieuwyd*, is correct, then we should translate, following Pughe’s quotation *sub. voc.* “*ieuwydd* :”

“With the yokes (or collars), and with *elestron*.” This would suggest that in the quotation in the text we should read :

*a rithwys ieuwyd ac elestron.*

- (e). *Mynawc hoedyl Minawc ap lleu*  
*A weleis i yma gynheu*  
*Diwed yn [ar]llechwedd lleu*  
*Bu gwrd y hwrd yg kadeu.*<sup>15</sup>

“Spirited was the life of Minawg, son of Llew,  
 Whom I saw here lately ;  
 Llew’s end was in Arllechwedd,  
 Mighty was his thrust in battles.”

(f). The three golden shoemakers of the Island of Britain,—Caswallawn son of Beli, when he went to seek Fflur as far as Rome ; and Manawydan son of Llyr, when enchantment came over Dyved ; and Llew Llaw-gyffes when he and Gwydion sought a name and arms from Aranrhod, his mother.”<sup>16</sup>

(g). The three red-tracked ones of the Island of Britain—Rhun son of Beli, and Llew Llawgyffes, and Morgan Mwynvawr ; and one was more red-tracked than the three, his name was Arthur. For a year neither grass nor herbs would grow wherever one of them trod ; and for seven years they would not grow wherever Arthur trod.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *BT* p. 35 ; *FAB* ii, p. 158. The translation of the first line is very doubtful.

<sup>16</sup> *Triads*, *RB* i, p. 308=*Triads* ii, *MA*, p. 399 ; i. *ibid*, p. 393=iii, *ibid*, p. 411, where Llew’s mother is called Rhiannon, a cumulative error from the *Riarot* of series i. For the relation of the three series of *Triads*, see Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 122.

<sup>17</sup> *RB* i, p. 303=*Triads* ii, *MA*, p. 397 ; iii *ibid*, p. 404. This triad is particularly difficult. I am not at all satisfied that *ruduoawc* means “red-tracked” and that the meaning implied in the remark about Arthur is not a bad guess. The form of the triad in Series iii has *rhudd-fanogion*, “with crimson spots ;” here Llew is not mentioned, his place being taken by Arthur. The meaning implied in that series is “brilliant” : they lost no battle except by treachery. In a copy of the triads in *Hengwrt MSS.*, (*FAB* ii, p. 458), Arthur takes the place of Llew and no attempt is made to explain *ruduoawc*. *Ruduoawc* occurs in *BBC*, 105 ; *MA*, 187b, 215a, 224a (= *RBP*, 1382), 237a, 237b, 239a, 251b, 257b, 260b. Cf. *Cyneiluoawc*, *BT*, 29.



(h). *a march taliessin, a march lleu lletuegin.*<sup>18</sup>

“And the steed of Taliessin, and the steed of  
Lleu Lletvegin.”

(j). *a melyn gan gamre march llew llaw gyffes.*<sup>19</sup>

“And Yellow-white Steps, the steed of Llew Llaw  
Gyffes.”

§10. Thus, little can be gleaned from purely Welsh sources of the history of Lleu, but that little is valuable evidence of the genuineness, on Welsh grounds, of some at least of the different stories given in the *Mabinogi*. We can regard the following facts as established :

(1). At the end of the twelfth century, Llew was known to have had a kinsman, who had gone into the sea.<sup>20</sup>

(2). His grave was by the sea, or rather, if our emendation is correct, under the sea.

(3). His name was at the same period closely connected with that of Gwydion. A *caer* was named after both of them.

(4). Llew, like Gwydion, was himself a magician. This tradition was known when the *Book of Taliessin* was written about 1275.<sup>21</sup> The MSS may be a copy of a ninth century original,<sup>22</sup> in which case, the association of Llew and Gwydion was known in the ninth century.

<sup>18</sup> BT, 48. FAB ii, 176. *Lletuegin* appears to be a form of *Llawgyffe*, due to a series of copyist's errors. <sup>19</sup> RB i, 306.

<sup>20</sup> The BBC was written about the end of the 12th century (see Evans, *Report on Welsh MSS.* vol. I, part II, p. 297). Orthographic and other evidences show that it is a copy of an earlier manuscript, probably the last in a series of still earlier manuscripts. <sup>21</sup> *ibid.* p. 300.

<sup>22</sup> See Sir John Morris-Jones's *Taliesin*, pp. 330 ff.

(5). He was known, probably before the composition of *Math*, as the reference in the text of *Math* shows, as a "golden shoemaker." The form of the triad which we have translated above is later than the mabinogi itself, and the explanation, as in the case of Manawydan, was supplied by one who knew the mabinogi.

*The name Llew.*

§11. Welsh tradition, then, gives little help to solve our riddle. We must look elsewhere for light, that is, to the very considerable body of Irish tradition in which the story of Llew's life is preserved. It is necessary at this point to say a word about his name. Throughout the whole of *Math*, in the *Red Book* version, it is spelt exactly like the Welsh word for "lion," *llew*, while in the *White Book*, out of fourteen instances in which it occurs, the name is spelt *Llew* twelve times, and *Lleu* twice.<sup>23</sup> The verses, however, which are found in the text, involving a rhyme in *eu*, prove that the form of the name at the time when they were composed was *Lleu*.<sup>24</sup> This is confirmed by the spelling in the verses quoted above.

§12. It is not difficult to see how *lleu* became *llew*. In the naming incident, Arianrhod says: "It was with a skilful hand that y *Llew* hit it." Now, however improbable the story may be, that is to say, however strange it may appear that anyone should be called a "lion" for his marksmanship (I know of no instance in Welsh of anyone being called *llew* except for bravery in battle), yet the sentence as it stands makes fair sense. But *Lleu*, the only meaning of which is "light,"<sup>25</sup> could not be fitted

<sup>23</sup> It should be noticed that both scribes were copying from manuscripts in which *eu* could represent both *ew* and *eu*.

<sup>24</sup> *RB*, pp. 78-9. The rhyme is *eu* (mutation of *geu*, *MW*, *gau*) rhyming twice with *lleu*. For a full treatment of this quotation by an author whose particular theory (pp. 401 ff) would have been better suited by *llew*, see Rhys, *HL*, pp. 398-9.

<sup>25</sup> Note that *ileu* "light" is a "literary" word: it is only used in poetry, and had already become obsolete except in compounds like *goleu*, *lleufer*, etc.

at all to this story ; so, probably, one of the scribes, or even the author of this part, made the small change from *lleu* to *llew*, which alone could make the naming episode at all plausible, unless indeed, we are to suppose that his marksmanship was regarded as being as certain in reaching its object as a ray of light. If that is so, that is, if it was necessary to substitute another word for *Lleu*,—one of two things must follow. Either, first, the naming incident in its present form was no part of the life history of Llew, and was introduced from elsewhere, in the later forms of the story ; or secondly, the story had its origin in another language where the name had a definite meaning, and where the allusion was therefore significant. We shall see later, that, while we cannot assume that Welsh and Old Irish could give a definite meaning to the word *Lugh*, the modern language in Ireland has seized upon a grammatical similarity to explain the name. In the Welsh version the author bungled over the crucial point of the naming, and could only make passable sense of the incident by changing *lleu* to *llew*.

§13. The name in Irish is *Lug Lamfáda* (older, *Lamfcta*), or with the mutations written in full, *Lugh Lamhfháda* ; the pronunciation is *Lui Laváda*, where *Lui* has approximately the sound of Southern French *ouille* in *barbouille*.<sup>26</sup> Welsh *eu* is pronounced approximately like German *ein*, only with the tongue on the lower teeth, and no part of it in contact with the palate. The *ew* of *Llew*, long in North Wales, is almost what the *êves* of *Trêves* would be, in the mouth of a Breton, if French *v* were pronounced as Latin *v* or English *w*. Both *Lugh* and *Lleu* are to be derived by the ordinary laws of Celtic phonology from an older *Lugus*,<sup>27</sup> a name which actually

<sup>26</sup> It seems probable that the spoken form of *Lugh* in Irish has been influenced by the name *Lughaidh*. See note 50 to §182.

<sup>27</sup> *Lugus* is an *u* stem, corresponding to words of the Latin fourth declension like *gradus*, nom. pl. *gradūs* for an older *gradoves*.

appears in Gaulish in the latinised dative plural *Lugovibus*,<sup>28</sup> the name of gods of the Celtic pantheon, and in the original names of Lyons, Laon, and Leyden,—*Lugudunum* and *Lugdunum*. This actual form with its elements reversed is found in the Welsh *Dinlle* for older *Dinlleu*,<sup>29</sup> the name of the locality in which the greater part of *Math* is located, and in Irish in the corresponding name given in B1,<sup>30</sup> *Dun Lui*.<sup>31</sup> The epithets, however, differ. The Irish *Lavada* is for *lamh-fháda*, a compound of *lamh*, “hand,” and *fáda*, “long,” and so the Irish means “the longhanded,” an epithet applied in Welsh to Caswallon *Law Hir*. The Welsh epithet which is in both texts written *Llawgyffes* presents some difficulty. The first element of the compound is the exact equivalent of the Irish first element, both words being derived from the same Celtic word meaning “hand.” The second part *cyffes* is doubtful. It is to be noted that in Welsh manuscripts of this period *ff* may represent *f* (=ff) or may simply be a double *f* (=v), that is *vv*. On the other hand, single *f* is generally used to denote both *f* (=ff) and *v*. *Cyffes*, therefore, though in the texts of the mabinogion it is probably meant for *cyffes* with a medial *ff* sound, may be copied from a manuscript where it represented *cyves*. The question to be decided, then, if possible, is whether Llew’s<sup>32</sup> epithet is *cyffes* or *cyves*.

<sup>28</sup> *HL*, p. 407; Hübner, *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* ii, p. 2818; Dottin, *La langue gauloise*, p. 268.

<sup>29</sup> Strictly speaking, *Dinlleu* is a neo-Celtic form where the second element is a genitive dependent on the first element. A form corresponding exactly to *Lugudunum*, that is *Lleuddin*, must have existed in Welsh, if the reading in *MA* 144a is correct—*lleuddiniarwn drefydd*. Cf. also *Triads*, *MA*, 415b, 416a.

<sup>30</sup> For the meaning of the symbol *B1*, see §16.

<sup>31</sup> Other compounds containing *Lugu-* are *Lugubalion*, (=W. *Llywelydd*) the original name of Carlisle, and \**Lugubelinus*, the original form of the name *Llywelyn*. Here we have apparently a form compounded of the name of *Lleu* and of his grandfather *Beli*. See §106.

<sup>32</sup> I use the form *Llew* rather than the more correct *Lleu* generally in this study because it is the actual form in the texts. See §10.

§14. As to *cyffes*, it exists in Middle Welsh :

*Kynn bum kein vaglawc bum kyffes eiryawc.*<sup>33</sup>

“Before I was well-crutched, I was eloquent in speech.”

Cynddelw<sup>34</sup> has *arawd . . . gyffes*,—“an eloquent prayer or speech.” Prydydd y Moch<sup>35</sup> compares a poet to Myrddin, *Mal mertin ym marteir kyffes*,—“like Myrddin eloquent in poesy.” The meaning of *cyffes* then seems to be “eloquent,” and unless it bears some other meaning at present undiscovered, it can hardly be an epithet to apply to a hand. As to *cyves*, this might be a compound of *cy* and *mes*. *Mes* does not occur in Welsh, but in Irish *mess* is the abstract noun of the deponent verb *mithidir* “judges, estimates” with the original meaning of “hits the mark.” The compound *co-mess*, does not, as far as I know, exist in Irish, but such compounds with *co* as *cóir* (W. *cywir*) = *co-fhir* are not unknown.<sup>36</sup> It will be remembered that Arianrhod gives her son the name of Llew Llawgyffes because he has been able to hit the wren between the sinew and bone of the leg.<sup>37</sup> “It was with a *cyffes* hand that the Llew hit [it],” she says, and here *cyffes* from the context can only mean “unerring.” If so, then it is probably a compound of *mess*, “judging accurately,” and is originally therefore an Irish and not a Welsh name, and should be transliterated *cyves* or, in modern Welsh orthography, *cyfes*.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *RBP*, p. 11; *FAB*, ii, 259.    <sup>34</sup> *MA*, 185a.    <sup>35</sup> *MA*, 202b.

<sup>36</sup> *Com-*, however, and not *co-* is the usual form before *m*. See Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I, 64; II, 578.

<sup>37</sup> For a fuller discussion of this episode see §§172 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Rhŷs (*HL*, p. 237n), having translated *cyffes* as “steady,” adds this note: “This is a guess at the meaning required by the context; but the real significance of the adjective . . . *cyffes* has not been ascertained; it must be analysed *cyf-hes*, otherwise one cannot account for the *ff*, and in that case the syllable *hes* may possibly be a word of the same origin as *hyd*, ‘length,’ and the whole word *cyffes* might be conjectured to have the meaning of ‘long.’ We should then interpret *Llaw-gyffes* to mean *Longi-manus* as in the case of Llew’s Goidelic counterpart, *Lug Lá-m-fada*.”

*The Ténacity of Irish Tradition.*

§15. At present, we are only concerned with a particular version of Llew's life story, one form of which is represented in *Math*, and another in two or three Irish tales shortly to be studied. These tales are for the most part quite modern as to the form in which they are accessible to us, but students of mythology and folk-lore have no hesitation in treating them as traditional material. Indeed, one of the distinctions of modern Ireland, or rather of the Ireland which is just passing away, is the extreme tenacity of its conservatism when dealing with the old traditions. In this respect it offers a striking contrast to Wales which has been inexplicably unwilling to preserve its own tales. Compared with the vast corpus of heroic literature in early and late Middle Irish, the Welsh mabinogion and romances are meagreness itself; compared with the stories still preserved among the peasantry of Ireland and of the Scotch Highlands, Wales with its one or two native fairy tales may be said to have no traditions. The reasons which account for this unnatural difference will, we hope, become clear when, in a later volume, we study the Arthurian tradition as a whole. "The parallel features of the story to events of Irish legendary history, and to primitive Irish customs, show most strikingly the toughness of popular tradition. A curious and primitive state of society is delineated, and the delineation is in exact accordance with what definite knowledge is possessed of early Celtic institutions. This should be borne in mind when objections are raised against the purely traditional transmission of complex and intricate narrations deriving their *motif* from extinct phases of belief and habits of thought. The survival of the latter in the popular mind is less remarkable than is the survival of extinct institutions."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Alfred Nutt, *FLR*, IV, p. 5. See also Joyce, *Origin and History of Irish Names and Places, Series I* (4th Edition), p. 176; and Nutt's extremely valuable and suggestive *Introduction* to J. G. Campbell's *The Fians*. For a criticism of modern stories as scientific material, see

B1. Balor on Tory Island.

§16. The first version of Lugh's history in Ireland we shall call B1. Here follows a full summary of it.<sup>40</sup>

Ri Balor (King Balor) lived on Tory Island. He lived there because it was prophesied that he was never to die unless he were killed by the son of his only daughter. He therefore lived on Tory Island, so that his daughter should have no son. For this purpose, on a cliff jutting into the ocean, called Tor Mor, he built a castle, where he placed his daughter with twelve women to guard her, and he had alarm bells set all round the castle. Opposite on the mainland at Druim na Teine (Hill of Fire) lived a smith, Gavidin, who had a cow called Glas Gavlen<sup>41</sup> that gave a marvellous quantity of milk. The cow was the smith's enchanted step-sister.

She was the first cow that came to Ireland, and at that time, the only one. She was so valuable that the smith never let her out of his sight, except when he was working, and then he had a man to watch her. Balor coveted Glas Gavlen, and ordered two servants of his, Maol and Mullag, to get it. The smith would not sell the cow, so they decided to steal it. Their chance came when the three sons of Ceanfaeligh (Kinealy),—Duv, Donn, and Fin, (Black, Brown, and White),—went to the forge to have three swords made. They agreed to mind

Zimmer, *Goth. gelehrt. Anz.*, 1890, No. 12, pp. 488 ff, and a comment on Zimmer's views by Griffith, *Sir Perceval of Galles*, p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> Curtin, *HT*, pp. 283-295. This tale was obtained in County Donegal.

<sup>41</sup> *Gavlen* "is a cow that has not calved for five years." In the tale of *Elin Gow*, the smith's cow is called *Glas Gainach*, "which is a corruption of *Gamhnach*, that is a farrow cow, being the adjective of *Gamhan*, a yearling calf." (See Curtin's note, *op. cit* p. 530). Of course, it is obvious that these names have been rationalised, and that *Glas Gavlen* means the "grey cow of Goibniu," *Gavlen*, being a corruption of *Gavnen* from O. Irish *Goibnenn*, genitive of *Goibniu*.

the cow, in turn, while Gavidin made their swords. "Whoever loses her," said the smith, "I'll take the head off him." When Fin's turn came, he took out the cow, but when some distance away from the forge, he ran back with directions about the sword. Maol and Mullag then stole the cow, and took her in a boat to Tory Island. On their way they stopped at Inis Bofin (Island of the White Cow); she drank from a well there, called thenceforth Tobar na Glaise (Glas's Well). They landed at Port na Glaise (Glas's Harbour) on Tory. Fin went away looking for the cow. He met Gial Duv (Black Jaw), who promised to aid him, and they both went to Tory a few hours after Maol and Mullag. Fin went to Balor to demand the cow, and Balor set him a task, which he accomplished by the help of Gial Duv, who was in the room with him, invisible. "Come to-morrow," said Balor; "if my daughter throws you the cow's halter, she (the cow) will be yours." Gial Duv took Fin to Balor's daughter over all the obstructions and bell-cords without touching them. Acting on Gial Duv's advice, Fin went first to Balor's daughter, and afterwards was "as intimate with all the other women." He asked Balor's daughter to throw him the halter on the morrow. The daughter did so, and Balor said, "Oh, daughter, what have you done?" He had to give the cow to Fin, who took her to the smith. Before the year was out, Gial Duv went to Fin and said, "Make ready to come with me to Tory; if you don't, Balor will find out what happened, and will kill his own daughter, and the twelve women, and all the children." The two went to Tory. When the children were born, the women gave twelve of them to Fin in a blanket, and one, Balor's grandson, by himself in a separate



cloth. Fin sat in the boat with the twelve on his back, and one at his breast. The blanket was fastened at his throat with a *dealg* (thorn); the thorn broke and the twelve children fell into the water at *Sruth Deilg* (the Stream or Current of the Thorn), and become seals. They brought Balor's grandson ashore, where a nurse was found, but the child did not thrive with her. "Let us take the boy to Tory," said Gial Duv, "Balor has always failed to grow trees on the island. Promise to make a forest, if he'll let some of the women nurse the child. Tell him, if he says that there is no woman on the island with a child of her own, that the child has a power to draw milk from the breast of any woman in the evening, and do you tell them what is wanted." Fin gave the child to Balor's daughter before her father could come near her, and he was passed on till he had touched the twelve; so it was found that the twelve had milk, and Balor consented to let the child be nursed. Gial Duv made, by enchantment, a fine forest of various trees. When the child was able to walk, Fin used to bring him out in the daytime. One day he took him to the mainland. Next day a terrible wind destroyed all the trees on Tory, so Balor knew that the forest was all enchantment and deceit, and, therefore, he sought to kill Fin. Gial Duv warned Fin, but at last, when Fin was hunting in Glen Ath, they ambushed him and cut off his head on a stone. Balor's grandson was now a strong youth, and his name was Lui Lavada. He was called Lavada because his arms were so long that he could tie his shoes without stooping. Lui did not know that he was Balor's grandson. He knew that his father had been killed by Balor's men, and he was waiting to avenge him. Balor's grandson

x

attended a wedding, a couple of years later, and carved for the guest, though it was the custom that Maol and Mullag should carve first. The two were in great rage, and Maol said, "the bride will go with me." The people explained to Lui that it was the custom at weddings that Maol, the first in authority, "should keep company with the bride on the first evening," and Mullag the second evening. Lui said it was time to stop that, and Maol offered to strike him. Lui caught Maol and split his tongue, and mutilated him cruelly, and afterwards treated Mullag in the same way. He then set them adrift in a boat. Balor swore vengeance on Lui. He had an eye in the middle of his forehead which he kept covered with nine shields of thick leather, for whatever he looked at with the naked eye he burnt to ashes. He made for Gavidin's forge, and there Lui awaited him, and had a spear ready red-hot. When Balor was just raising the ninth shield from his eye, Lui Lavada sent the red spear into it. Balor pursued him and never stopped till he reached Dun Lui. While sitting there on a rock, everything came to him quite clearly. "I see it all now," said he. "This is my grandson who has given me the mortal blow. He is the son of my daughter and Fin Mac-Kinealy. No one else could have given that spear cast but him." He called his grandson and ordered him to cut off his head, and to put it above his own so that he might know all. Lui took off his head, and put it on a rock. The next moment a drop came out of the head, made a thousand pieces of the rock, and dug an immense hole in the ground, and that hole is Gweedore Loch.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Curtin has a note at the end of this tale: "The above tale I wrote down on the mainland, when I found also another version, but inferior to this. On Tory itself I found two versions, both incomplete. Though differing in particulars, the argument is the same in all."

B2. *Balor of the Evil Eye and Lui Lavada his Grandson.*

§17. The second version<sup>43</sup> to be summarised we shall call B2.

Long ago the Firbolgs were in Ireland. At last Balor Beiman came from Lochlin and killed their king and drove out the Firbolgs into Gallowna, and then himself returned to Lochlin. <There was a smith in Ireland called Gaivnin Gow who had a cow called Glas Gownach, which he used to tie every night with a magic halter. She always returned to the halter from her daily wanderings. The cow gave milk to all, and there was no end to it. Balor Beiman coveted the cow, and when returning to Lochlin, stole the halter.>Gaivnin Gow, therefore, had to give up his work at the forge in order to mind the cow. The widow of the King of the Firbolgs took a new husband in the land of Gallowna, and had seven sons. She sent the eldest, Geali Dianvir, to Ireland to avenge herself on the people who drove them out. In Ireland he came across three brothers, sons of a king, fighting as to who should reign after their father. Dianvir having settled the matter for them by suggesting that each should rule in turn, left them, but the youngest son persuaded his brothers to follow him and kill him, because he was likely to make trouble for them. Dianvir was a stranger in Ireland, and had no knowledge of the roads ; when a lake was before him, he was a long time going round it ; when he came to a deep river, he was long finding a ford. Dianvir's men were cut off, most of them fell, and he himself fell with the others. A small number escaped to the ships, took one of them, and sailed to the land of Gallowna. The queen went with her forces to Ireland to avenge Dianvir's death, but when she came to Ireland, it was the sons of Balor that she had against her.

<sup>43</sup> Curtin, *HT*, pp. 296-311. This version was obtained at Connemara.

In the war that followed, the Lochlin men were getting the upper hand at first. They dipped their swords and spears into a venomous well, and this made every wound they inflicted incurable. The queen and her sons consulted the Old Blind Sage, who advised them to get twenty measures of the milk of Glas Gownach and pour it into the well ; this would kill the venom. They were, also, to take a hundred swords and spears to Gaivnin Gow to get them tempered. The queen's sons did so, and from that night the weapons of the Lochlin men lost their venom. (Gaivnin Gow promised to temper the weapons on condition that they watched the cow, while he was at work. One of the brothers looked after her all day, but in the evening left her outside the forge. Glas Gownach escaped after the halter.) On the following day Balor's sons were all killed, and the Lochlin men driven away. The queen and her sons, except two, also fell. Balor then, in anger, said he would burn all Ireland to avenge his sons. Balor had a third eye, an evil one, in the middle of his forehead, and it could burn everything that he looked upon. Over his eye, he kept seven steel shields, and a lock on each one of them. "I will destroy Ireland," he said, "for no man can kill me, except my daughter's son, who can only kill me with the red spear made by Gaivnin Gow, which he must cast into my eye when I am standing on Muin Duv (Black Back) to burn Ireland." Cian, the son of the queen of the Firbolgs, said to his brother, "We have done great harm to Gaivnin Gow. We should bring his cow back." They consulted the druid<sup>44</sup> Bark an Tra, and he promised to help them. "Balor Beiman," he said, "has the cow, because he had stolen the halter. He can only be killed by the son of his daughter, whom he keeps behind seven locked doors.

<sup>44</sup> i.e. magician.

To bring the cow back you must make the acquaintance of Balor's daughter. I will give you a cloak of darkness ; put it on and go to Lochlin. When Balor goes to see his daughter, go with him. Cian did so, and went to Balor's daughter's chamber unseen. He waited till she was sleeping, and laid a hand on her three times. At each touch she screamed and Balor came, but could see no one. At last, from fear of her father, she consented to Cian's advances. He went back to Bark an Tra, who said, " You must go back again at the right time."<sup>45</sup> Cian went back at the right time, again in the cloak of darkness. and brought away a child with him to Ireland. The child was not thriving for three years, hardly lived, and was puny. Bark an Tra advised him to take the child to Lochlin to Balor as the child would not thrive till his grandfather called him by name. He went, and engaged himself as a gardener to Balor, who said, " I do not like to have any child near my castle, but I will keep you for a time, even with the child, if your wages are not too great for me." Balor spoke no word to the child, good or bad, and the child was not thriving. One day Cian brought some apples to Balor, and he stumbled, and the apples fell to the floor. All those present ran to gather the apples, but the child worked so nimbly that he picked up two-thirds of all that had fallen, though a whole crowd was picking. Cried Balor, "*Tog leat, Lui Lavada*"—that is, " take away with thee, Little Long Hand." " Oh, he has the name now," said Cian. Cian took his son to Ireland ; the child grew wonderfully after that, and was soon full of strength. " The time is near," said Bark an Tra to him, " when Balor will stand on Muin Duv. Unless the red spear is put in his eye, when the last shield is raised from his eye, all Ireland will be burned in one flash.

<sup>45</sup> i.e. in nine months' time.

Go now, and ask Balor for your wages as gardener ; say that you want the cow Glas Gownach. He will say that he will go to judgment rather than give the cow : do you choose his daughter as judge, and she will give you the cow." Cian, under the cloak of darkness, explained his case to Balor's daughter.

Cian and Balor stood in front of her window, and she threw the halter to Cian ; so he had the cow. He brought her back to Gaivnin Gow. Bark an Tra said to Cian, " In five days, Balor will stand at daybreak on Muin Duv to burn Ireland. He will raise all the shields from his eye ; and unless a spear made by Gaivnin Gow is hurled into his eye by his grandson that instant, he will have all Erin in flames. You must bring Gaivnin Gow and the forge to Muin Duv, have the spear made, and all things prepared there ; and your son must be ready to throw the red spear at the right moment." Gaivnin Gow came, and all was made ready according to the druid's instructions. On the fifth morning, at daylight, Balor was on the top of Muin Duv, and the instant the last shield reached his upper eyelid, Lui Lavada struck him with the spear, and Balor fell dead.

### Version O.

§18. Other versions of the story of Balor and Lugh will be summarized here in a more condensed form than B1 and B2, but relevant incidents which are not found elsewhere will be repeated almost in full. Of the remaining versions the best known is that contained in O'Donovan's *The Four Masters* :<sup>46</sup>

On Tory island lived a robber called Balor, who had one eye in his forehead and one in the back of his head ; this latter he kept covered lest it should petrify those he

<sup>46</sup> *A.M.* 3330, note. (i, 18-21). This version is also given by Rhys, *HL*, pp. 314-6, and by de Jubainville, *Cycle Mythologique*, pp. 208-217.

looked upon. Opposite on the mainland lived three brothers, Gavida, Mac Samthainn, and Mac Kinealy.<sup>47</sup> Gavida, who was a smith, had a forge at Drumnatinne (Hill of Fire), and Mac Kinealy was the lord of the district around, and had a cow called Glas Gaivlen, which gave a marvellous supply of milk. Balor coveted this cow. Balor's druid once revealed to him that he should be slain by his grandson ; so to secure himself he confined his daughter Ethnea in a tower on Tor Mor, most difficult of access. She was guarded by twelve women, who were directed never to mention the male sex to her. Balor transformed himself into a red-haired lad, and told Mac Samthainn, who was holding the cow by a halter, that his brothers were stealing his steel to make swords. Mac Samthainn passed the halter to the lad, and ran to the forge. When he returned Balor had gone away with the cow. A druid and a fairy, Biroge of the Mountain, took MacKinealy, dressed as a woman, through the air to Tor Mor, and asked shelter for a lady who had escaped from a cruel husband. They were admitted and the fairy made all the twelve women sleep while MacKinealy made love to Ethnea. In due time, she gave birth to three boys. Balor had the boys wrapped in a sheet, and sent them to be drowned. At Port-a-deilg, the *delg* (thorn) broke and one of the three fell out ; the servant drowned the other two. The fairy picked up the boy who had fallen out, and had him taken to MacKinealy, who gave him to his brother Gavida to bring up as a smith. Balor caught MacKinealy, and cut his head on a large white stone. The blood penetrated the stone, and made a hole in it, and the stone, together with the district around, was thereafter called *Gloch*

<sup>47</sup> MacKineely or MacKinealy in history was the son of Cennfaeladh, King of Muscraige Breoghain, slain by Olaf who invaded Ireland in 853 A.D. CR. I, 194.

*Chinnfhaolaidh*, that is, Kinealy's Stone. Gavidá became Balor's smith, and had the boy with him to help him ; the boy, who was named Lug, knew that Balor had killed his father, and wished to avenge him. Often he went to look at the blood-red veins in the stone. One day Balor came, while Gavidá was absent, and boasted how he had killed MacKinealy. Lug then took out of the fire a glowing bar of iron, and thrust it into Balor's evil eye, and out through the skull. So Balor died.

*Version L. The Gloss Gavlen.*

§19. The next version, which we shall call L is found in Larminie's *West Irish Folk-Tales*.<sup>48</sup> In spite of its incoherence, it has some points of great interest :

The Gobaun Seer<sup>49</sup> and his son built a palace for Balor Beimann. Balor tried to murder them, but failed. Balor then asked Gobaun what smith would "put irons in his palace," and he said that Gavidjeen Gow was the best smith. Gavidjeen asked for the cow Gloss as his wages, and Balor gave it to him but did not give the byre-rope, which would ensure the cow's staying with her new owner. Gavidjeen made a bargain with every champion that came to him for a sword, that he should mind the cow while he was working. Kian son of Contje was one of them, and guarded her for a day, but left her outside the forge at night because the Laughing Knight said that his sword was being spoilt by the smith. When

<sup>48</sup> pp. 1-9. This tale was found on Achill Island, County Mayo. Larminie gives the Irish original in phonetic spelling, *op. cit.* p. 241. The first portion of the tale, in which the King of England is substituted for Balor, is found in *The Gaelic Journal*, VIII, p. 192. For a translation, see *Dottin, Contes et Légendes*, p. 198.

<sup>49</sup> i.e. Goban the Craftsman, or the Craftsman-Smith. The Irish text has *Cobaan Siar*.



he returned to find her, the cow was gone. To save his head,—which was to be the price of his neglect—Kian went to find the cow. He met the tawny Mananaun, the son of Lir, who promised to help him. He stepped into Mananaun's curach, and in the winking of an eye, he took him to the kingdoms of the cold, where they had to eat all their food uncooked. Kian made a fire, and was therefore engaged by Balor to be his cook, his story-teller, and his fireman. Balor Beimann had one daughter, and there was a prediction that she would have a son, who would kill his grandfather. So Balor had put her in prison, away from all men, in the company of a dummy woman; he himself took her food to her. Mananaun left an enchantment with Kian, that any lock he laid his hand on would open and shut after him. So he often visited the king's daughter, and at last, he said to the king that he must depart, "because," said he, "an accident has happened to me." "What accident?" asked the King. "A child has happened to me." One of Balor's two sons warned his father against Kian, and he overheard him; so he went to Balor's daughter who gave him the byre-rope of the Gloss. He returned then with the boy to the wizard Mananaun, who had told him that he would help him in any difficulty. "Make haste into the curach," said Mananaun, "or Balor will drown us. But greater is my druidism than his." He jumped into the curach, and the Gloss followed. He reached home, and Mananaun said, "Now, Kian son of Contje, you are safe and sound home, and what will you give me for it?" "I have nothing but the boy, and we will not make two halves of him,<sup>50</sup> but I will give him to you entirely." "I thank you," said Mananaun, "there will

<sup>50</sup> Kian had promised Mananaun as a reward half of what he should earn with Balor.

be no champion in the world as good as he." Mananaun baptized him with the name *Dul Dauna*,<sup>51</sup> and brought him up with feats of activity and championship. He and Mananaun were out, one day, on the sea and they saw the fleet of Balor. The Dul Dauna put a ring to his eye, and he saw his grandfather on the deck, but did not know it was his grandfather. He took a dart from his pocket and flung it at him and killed him. Thus was the prophecy fulfilled.

*Version G.*

§20. This is the story of Balor and Lugh as given in the *Leabhar Gabhála*,—the "Book of Conquests."<sup>52</sup>

King Breas oppressed the Family of the goddess Danu, and they demanded his abdication. He went to his mother, who advised him to seek his father's help, Elatha, King of the Fomorians. His father sent him to Balor,<sup>1</sup> King of the Fomorians of the Isles of Norway, and he gathered an army there. Nuada of the Silver Hand ascended the throne instead of Breas, and allied himself with Lug Lamfada or Ildánach, brother of the Dagda and of Ogma. Lug, Dagda, Ogma, Goibniu the smith, and Diancécht the leech used to meet secretly every day at a place in Meath. For a year, they thus held meeting of the family of Danu ; among these was the sorcerer Mathgen. Lug then sought the three gods of Danu,—Brian, Iuchar and Iucharba, and spent seven years with them preparing for the struggle. In the battle of Mag Tured (Moytura),

<sup>51</sup> In the phonetic text, *Doll Daana*,—which means the "blind stubborn one." This is, of course, a corruption of *Ildauna*, i.e. in literary Irish, *Ildánach*, "the all-skilful," one of the commonest of Lugh's epithets.

<sup>52</sup> It was re-written about 1630 by Michael O'Clery, but there is no doubt that it goes back to the period of the earliest Irish literature. Douglas Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 285 ff.

Nuada was killed by Balor, who had an evil eye that only opened itself upon the plain of battle. Four men had to lift up the eyelid, by placing an instrument under it. The warriors, whom Balor scanned with that eye, could not fight against their enemies. Balor said to his attendants, "Raise my eyelid that I may see the braggart who speaks with me." His people did so, and Lug from his sling let fly a stone at Balor which passed through his head, carrying the venomous eye with it.<sup>53</sup>

*Version T.*

§21. The account of the death of Lugh's father, Cian, is given in the famous tale of the *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann*,—the "Fate of the children of Tuireann."<sup>54</sup> This tale which may be called T is here summarised as far as it is pertinent to our theme :

*The Fate of the Children of Tuireann.*

King Nuada Airgidlamh—Nuadha of the Silver Hand,<sup>55</sup> was King at Tara. At that time the Fomorians had imposed a heavy tribute on the Tuatha Dé Danann.

<sup>53</sup> The story is found under the title of the *Cath Maige Tured* (Battle of Moytura), in *RC* XII, 100. See also de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique*, pp. 197 ff, and the note on p. 460 of Joyce's *OCR*. Additional interesting details may be gleaned from the references *Mag Tured* and *Moytura* in Rhys's *HL*.

<sup>54</sup> Edited by Richard J. O'Duffy (Dublin, 1901), A translation will be found also in Joyce's *O C R* p. 125.

<sup>55</sup> Known in Welsh, according to Rhŷs, *HL*, as *Lludd Llawereint*, "Lludd of the Silver Hand." Of course the Welsh cognate of *Nuadha* is *Nudd*, and Rhŷs supposes, very naturally, that Nudd became *Lludd* under the influence of the initial sound of the epithet. If so, the whole question of *Lludd-Lud* is raised. Is *Lludd* really a ghost name? And further, how far is *Llyr* in Welsh a comparatively late name, compounded of the genuine Irish *Ler*, genitive *Lir*, and *Lludd*, itself formed from *Nudd*? We have nothing in Irish to correspond to *Lludd*.

One day the king was holding a fair on the hill of Balor, now called Uisneach,<sup>56</sup> when they saw a goodly host coming towards them, and in the vanguard was a young man of so radiant a countenance that they were unable to gaze upon him.

It was Lugh Lamhfháda Loinnbhéimíonach,—Lugh of the Long Hand, of the Mighty Strokes—and the Fairy Cavalcade from the Land of Promise, and his own foster-brothers, among whom was Goithne Gorm-suileach,—“Goithne the Blear-eyed, or the Blue-eyed.” Lugh rode on Aonbhárr, “the Chief,” the horse of Mananaun, and was arrayed in Mananaun’s arms. Lugh slew all the envoys of the Fomorians except nine who were allowed to return to Lochlainn. When they brought the news to Balor, he said, “Do you know who he is?” Ceithlíonn, his wife, answered,—“He is the son of your daughter and mine; and it is a sign that our power over Ireland is gone.” Breas, the son of Balor, then offered to go to Ireland to cut off the “Ioldhanach”’s head. When Lugh heard that Breas had landed, he rode to meet him, and met on the way the three sons of Cainte,—Cu, Ceithen and Cian. Cu and Ceithen went south to summon the Fairy Cavalcade, and Cian went north. When Cian reached Muirtheimhne, he saw three warriors, the three sons of Tuireann,—Brian, Iucharba, and Iuchair, deadly enemies of his. Seeking to escape death at their hands, Cian struck himself with a druidical wand, transforming himself into the shape of one of the swine that were near in great numbers. Brian guessed what he had done, and struck his two brothers and transformed them into hounds, which chased the “druidical pig.” All the other swine fled, and Brian cast his spear at Cian, so that “he put it through his chest.” He begged for quarter, but was

<sup>56</sup> Usny, on the west side of Tara. (O’Duffy, *op. cit.* p. 249.)

only allowed to resume his own shape. "It is not," said Brian, "with arms you will be slain, but with stones." So they pelted him to death, and buried him. Lugh meanwhile was on his way to Breas. When he saw the Fomorians, he said : "one portion of me is of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, and the other to your race ; restore to me now the milch cows of Ireland." Lugh then placed a druidical spell upon the cattle-spoils, and sent to every house in Ireland its own milch cows, and slew nearly all the Fomorians by the help of the Fairy Cavalcade. [The rest of the story is concerned with the *eric*<sup>57</sup> demanded by Lugh of the sons of Tuireann for the death of his father, Cian, of the manner of its payment, and of the tragic death of the brothers.]

*Some Points in the Legend.*

§22. These are, unfortunately, the only relics of what must have been at one time one of the most popular of Irish stories, and there is now very little likelihood of a new and more intelligible version coming to light. We have, therefore, to reconstruct our source out of rather scanty materials, but such as they are, quite sufficient to supply a basis for further investigation. On one or two points, indeed, it may be claimed that older and more definite evidence can be deduced, and before we proceed to the examination of the main legend, it may be well to clear the way, by naming some of these :

(1) Lugh, was in Irish tradition, the slayer of Balar, or Balor Balcbeimnech, King of the Fomorians, by casting a spear into his evil eye with which he could burn whatever he looked at.

(2) In this, he was associated with Goibniu the smith.

<sup>57</sup> Like the W. *galanas*, the payment made as an atonement for a murder.

(3) The sorcerer of the family of the goddess Danu, on whose side Lugh was fighting against the Fomorians, was named Mathgen.

(4) Lugh was the son of Cian, whose death he avenged.

(5) Lugh was famous for his skill, being known in old Irish story as Ildánach—"the all-skilful."

*Difference between Versions GT and BOL.*

§23. There are, it is now clear, two well distinguished types of the Balor story. Both types agree in representing Balor as an enemy and Lugh as a friend, Balor as the leader of the "other side," and Lugh as a champion of "our side," but in other respects the difference between the two types is fundamental. The one, *GT* represented by the version *G* and *T*, is of a quasi-historical character, and describes Balor as a legendary king of the Fomorians, one of the "pests" of Ireland,—a *gormes*, as we should say in Welsh,—and Lugh as his challenger, the leader and hope of the Tuatha Dé Danann, one of the races that settled in Ireland. The antipathy between these two protagonists is an antipathy of race, though on his mother Ethniu's side, Lugh happened to be Balor's grandson. In the second type, *BOL*, as represented by *B1*, *B2*, *O*, and *L*, the story belongs more closely to that layer of tradition which is called folk-lore. The tellers of this type of story are not concerned with historical operations and with the high policy of kings, but with those conflicts which lie near the common life of the people. Balor is therefore, in this type, not an invading king, but a robber-giant who harasses the country, and his opponent Lugh is the typical popular Deliverer who outwits and finally destroys him. Just as the name "Fomorian" has come to mean a "giant"<sup>58</sup> in the modern speech, and as the Tuatha Dé Danann have now come to mean the People of Faery, so the story itself has likewise become transformed in

<sup>58</sup> Irish *famhair*, "giant"; Scotch Gaelic *famhair*, *fomhair*; Manx *foawr*. The Irish word is not now, I believe, in general use.

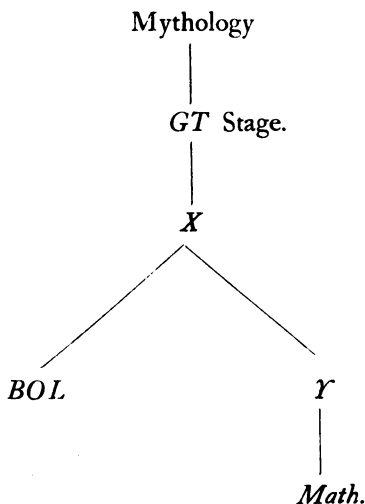
character in passing from legend to folk-lore, and has gathered around itself many accretions of the kind that generally accompany folk-tales of the Enemy of the People and the Deliverer,—a theme as widely spread as the human race itself. In *B2* we have, in the first part, a version which stands half-way between *GT* and *BOL*.

*Comparison of Versions B1, B2, O, L, G, T and Math.*

§24. Comparing *GT* on the one hand, and *BOL* on the other, with the version found in *Math*, we see at once that the Welsh story has this peculiarity ; its chief characters are not of the Enemy-and-Deliver type of later folk-lore, nor on the other hand is it “ history.” It is true that *Math* himself, who, as we shall see, is in the mabinogi the Welsh equivalent of Balor, is the lord of Gwynedd. But there is no suggestion that his history is a part of the history of Wales or of Gwynedd. The original character in the rôle which is here played by *Math*, namely *Beli* or *Benlli*, was certainly a folk-lore “ *gormes*,” a giant who oppressed the people and stole their cattle ; his death was regarded in the light of a deliverance. *Math* then may be said (if we may here anticipate) to have reached a development which is at least one stage further than *BOL* and two stages further than *GT*. It, like all the Four Branches, is a sophisticated and literary form which has grown out of the more primitive folk-lore. The four stages through which the tale has grown to its present form can be set down as follows :

- 1st stage. Mythology. Of this stage as far as Balor is concerned we have no relics ; of Lugh-Lleu as a god we have considerable evidence.
- 2nd stage. Mythology becomes history. This is roughly represented by *GT*.
- 3rd stage. Mythological history becomes folk-lore. Represented by *BOL*.
- 4th stage. Folk-lore is utilised to form literary tales. Represented by *Math*.

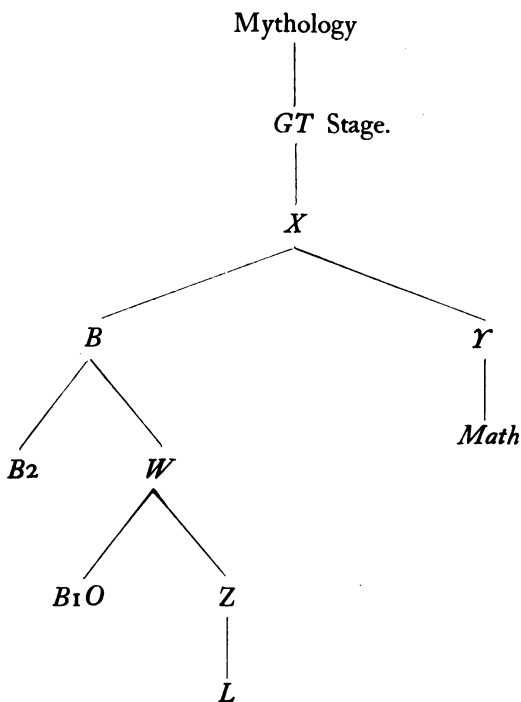
Though therefore *Math* is one stage removed from *BOL*, yet its basis was identical in development with the stage represented by *BOL*. It is further clear, on comparison, that the Irish story was not "introduced"<sup>59</sup> into Wales in its history form, but in its folk-lore form. That is to say, the correspondences between *Math* and *BOL* in which both differ from *GT* are very numerous, while correspondences between *Math* and *GT* in which both differ from *BOL* are very few ; indeed they may be said not to exist. There are some correspondences between *BOL* and *GT* in which both differ from *Math*, but that is only natural since *BOL* is one stage nearer *GT* than *Math*. The genealogy of the groups may be roughly represented thus, where *X* represents the source common to *Math* and *BOL*, and *Y* the folk-lore stage in Wales :



<sup>59</sup> It should be understood that I do not here assume that *Math* was "introduced" by one people to another people speaking a different language. That *may* be the fact, but it is possible also that the people who told the tale of *Math* changed their language.



It is with *BOL* then that *Math* must in the first instance be compared. *B2* has many points in common with *GT*, where both differ from *B1*, *O*, and *L*, and therefore stands nearer *GT* than the other versions do. *L* is peculiar ; it has adopted *Manannán* as the Helping Druid, and contains many incoherences ; on the whole, it seems the furthest removed from the older tradition. The relations of the different versions of *BOL* to each other and to *GT* we may represent as follows, using the same diagram as before, and denoting by *W* and *Z* intermediate stages in development, and by *B* the common source of *B1*, *B2*, *O*, and possibly *L* :



*Comparison of B<sub>1</sub> and B<sub>2</sub>.*

§25. We can now attempt a synthesis of the Balor-Lugh tradition, using, in the first place, the three versions which seem to approach each other most closely, namely *B<sub>1</sub>*, *B<sub>2</sub>*, and *O*. It is clear that these stories are different versions of the same original *B*, as they correspond in all important details, and bear signs of such a near relationship that their differences may be explained by the accidents of a comparatively recent oral tradition. It is not difficult to determine which of the three versions is the nearest to *B*; it is noteworthy that *B<sub>2</sub>* has a long introductory episode, which is somewhat out of proportion to the rest of the story, and which is not necessary to the folk-tale of the robber, Balor of Tory Island. It is, as we have mentioned, nearer to the "history" of the first, the *GT* type; so that the addition of the introductory episode puts *B<sub>2</sub>* in a class by itself,—it represents a version of the Balor-Lugh story which combines the quasi-historical Balor with the Balor of folk-lore: it is a mixture of Type 1 and Type 2. For that reason, in *B<sub>2</sub>*, Balor does not live on Tory Island but in Lochlin, the traditional other-world, afterwards rationalised to mean Norway or Denmark from which alien invasions descended upon Ireland in historical times. Now this involved the "author" of *B<sub>2</sub>* in a very serious difficulty, because in the first part Geali Dianvir is made to fight with, and to be killed by, the sons of the King of Ireland, whereas it is obvious that the main issue is between the dispossessed queen and Balor's people. The narrator or "author," therefore, solves this difficulty by running away from it, and probably, there is not in literature a better instance of an ingenuous refusal to make the joint between two stories plausible: "The queen went with her forces to Ireland to avenge Dianvir's death on the King's sons, but, when she came to Ireland, *it was the sons of Balor that she had against her.*"

This inconsequence is at once the charm of Irish folk-stories, and one of the most useful guides of the literary investigator.

*B. The Story of Balor and Lugh.*

§26. The following is a synthesis of *B1*, *B2*, and *O*, in which that part of *B1* which is derived from the *GT* type is omitted. With that reservation, it should represent, roughly, the most important features of *B*, the hypothetical source of all three :

On Tory Island dwelt a giant called Balor, who was a notorious robber. He had an eye in the middle of his forehead, which he kept covered with seven shields. It had been prophesied of him that he would be killed by the son of his only daughter, Ethnea, who could only kill him with the red spear of Gavida Gow, cast into his eye at the moment when he should raise the last shield from it, when standing on Muin Duv to burn Ireland. Therefore, to be quite certain that his daughter should have no son, Balor had gone with her to live on Tory Island, and had confined her in a castle, behind many locked doors. He set twelve women to guard her, and took great precautions that no man should come near her. Balor coveted Glas Gavlen (or Gownach), the marvellous cow of Gavida (Gavidin, Gaivnin) Gow the smith, the first and only cow in Ireland. Gavida, together with his two brothers MacSamthainn and MacKinealy, dwelt on the mainland. He had a magic halter for the cow ; where the halter was, there the cow would go. Balor, by transforming himself into a red-haired boy, succeeded in stealing the halter, which he took with him to Tory Island. MacKinealy (or Cian), who was fighting against Balor, knew that he could not prevail unless he had a spear fashioned by Gavida the smith. He could only persuade him to make the spear on condition that he

himself guarded the cow while the spear was being wrought. But he left her outside the forge at the end of the day, and she went after the halter, and so Balor at last got Glas Gavlen. On her way, she passed through many places which bear her name to this day. MacKinealy, anxious to recover the cow for Gavida, was helped by an enchanter (or a druid, Bark an Tra; or a fairyman Gial Duv; or a fairy, Biroge of the Mountain), who took a great personal interest in him. By magic means, the enchanter gained an entrance for himself and MacKinealy into Ethnea's room in the tower, and gave him minute instructions which MacKinealy obeyed. He slept with Ethnea, and "was equally intimate" with the twelve women guarding her. In the morning Ethnea gave him the halter, and so he regained the cow. In nine months' time, MacKinealy and his fairy adviser went back to Tory, and the women gave their twelve children to him in a blanket, and Balor's grandson they gave by himself in a separate cloth, held by a *dealg*. As he crossed the sea, the blanket fell into the water, and the twelve children became seals. These happenings are all connected with places which contain the word *Dealg*. [Version O:—Ethnea gave birth to three sons, of whom Balor took possession. He had them wrapped up in a sheet and sent them to be drowned, but one fell out of the sheet, and was picked up by the fairy Biroge who took him to his father. The other two were drowned.] Balor's grandson was taken to the mainland by his father, but the child did not thrive at all. The druid said that the child would not thrive till his grandfather called him by name; there was also the difficulty of getting a foster mother for him, but, by a trick, the father continued to have him suckled by the child's own mother, and by the other twelve mothers. The name was obtained thus. MacKinealy

was engaged by Balor to grow trees [as gardener, B2], on the island, which he did by the help of the enchanter's magic. The child showed great skill in picking apples, and Balor called him, on that account, *Lui Lavada*, "Little Long-Hand." A storm came and by destroying the trees, showed that they were made only by magic. MacKinealy, having obtained the name, returned to the mainland with Lugh. Balor then laid an ambush for MacKinealy and slew him. He cut off his head on a large white stone, and that stone was henceforth called *Cloch Chinnfhaolaidh*, "Kinealy's Stone." The boy was brought up by his uncle Gavida Gow. Having attended a wedding, he slew Balor's men, and one day Balor stood up on Muin Duv to burn Ireland, and just as he was lifting the last shield from his eye, Lui Lavada hurled the red spear into it, and so killed Balor and avenged his father.

#### *S. The Giant and his prophesied Death.*

§27. At this stage, too much importance should not be attached to the names of the characters. As they generally differ in all the versions, the choice of any particular name has to be made arbitrarily. Many details have been omitted which are essential to an understanding of the Welsh *Math*, but it was thought that these could be more profitably studied at a later stage. In order to arrive at the skeleton scheme of *B*, a summary of our re-construction must be attempted which only retains the minimum frame-work necessary to hold the plot together. In this minimum framework, it is obvious that proper names would be out of place for the present ; they belong to the flesh and blood of the story, and not to its skeleton ; they have also, by their own proper suggestion, a tendency to divert inquiry from the main issue. Let us call this summary *S*, and give it the title of *The Giant and his prophesied Death*.

(1) A certain Giant (or King) had an only daughter. It had been prophesied that his daughter's son would kill the Giant with a particular spear, and in particular circumstances.

(2) He, therefore, guarded his daughter from all men in a strong tower, so that she should have no son.

(3) The Hero, by magic help, gained access to the Giant's daughter, and begat a son.

(4) The Giant's daughter gave birth to a son.

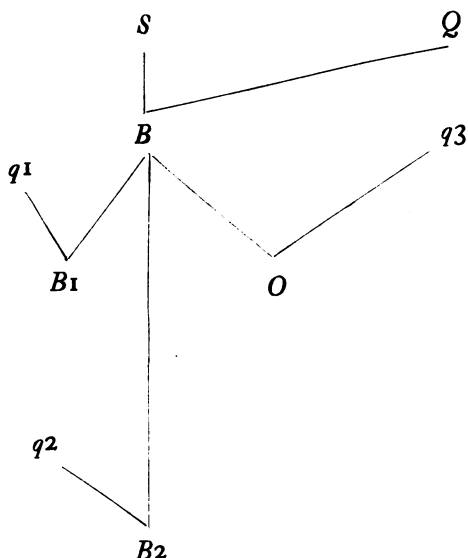
(5) The son did not prosper until he got a name from the Giant, his grandfather.

(6) By magic means, the Hero forced the Giant to name his grandson Lui Lavada.

(7) In the circumstances indicated in the prophecy, Lui hurled the particular spear, as described in the prophecy, into the Giant's eye, and so slew him.

§28. This summary now gives us a clear story-theme, stripped of all accretions, retaining only the barest necessities for coherence. If we may regard, for the time being, those other themes of *B* which have been here omitted as additions from other stories, then this summary, which we have called *S*, will clearly be the source of the story ; that is, it will contain the original germ from which the story grew. Certainly, even *S* is composite, as everything that draws its origin from the human mind must be, but we cannot abstract from it any part without totally injuring the whole as an organism. We may now, for the sake of clearness, rather than with any intention, at this point, of establishing a definite genealogy of the versions, tabulate as follows, denoting by *Q* the additional themes which

*S* has gathered around itself in passing to *B*, and by *q1*, *q2*, *q3*, some of the additional themes which *B* has collected in passing on. to *B1*, *B2*, and *O* :



*M. Math in bare Summary.*

§29. Let us now return to the story of *Math*. A summary has already been given of the mabinogi, but bare as that is, compared with the text, it is still encumbered by much that we may now assume to be accretions around the original kernel. If we treat *Math*, the Welsh version of the story of Lleu, in the same way as we have treated *S*, the reconstructed Irish version of the story of Lugh, we shall strip it of all details except the really vital, and, by omitting proper names, arrive at this bare summary, which we shall call *M* :

(1) A King cannot live unless his foot-holder be a virgin.

(2) His nephew, by trickery, gains access to the virgin foot-holder.

(3) The king's niece gives birth to a son.

(4) The son is denied a name, arms, and a wife, by his mother.

(5) By magic means the son's uncle forces the mother to give her son a name,—Llew (Lleu)—and arms. He also obtains a wife for him.

(6) The son, Llew, grows up and slays his wife's paramour in a certain position with a spear prepared in a particular way.

### *Difference between S and M.*

§30. It is clear at the first glance that, as we have assumed already, *M* is not by any means in the same stage of development as *S*. The latter is a perfectly coherent and clearly comprehensible theme, containing in itself indications of a general homogeneity. *M*, on the other hand, still retains those difficulties and incoherences which, at the beginning of this study, we noted in *Math* itself. Indeed, those difficulties are much more obvious in this skeleton sketch than they were in the full story, and the removal of what may be called the subsidiary themes has not helped us one whit to clear away the more important encumbrances. In other words, the difficulty of *M* does not lie, in the first instance, in its later accretions, but fundamentally, in the very framework itself of the main theme. It will assist us towards a better understanding of the two stories, and towards establishing their ultimate identity (which is our object), if we place *S* and *M* side by side, using the same numbering of the sections for both *S* and *M*, thus :



*S*

*M*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A certain Giant had an only daughter. It had been prophesied that his daughter's son would kill the Giant with a particular spear, and in particular circumstances.</li> <li>2. He therefore guarded his daughter from all men in a strong tower, so that she should have no son.</li> <li>3. The Hero, by magic help, gains access to the Giant's daughter and begets a son.</li> <li>4. The Giant's daughter gives birth to a son.</li> <li>5. The son does not prosper until he gets a name from the Giant, his grandfather.</li> <li>6. By magic means, the Hero forces the Giant to name his grandson Lui Lavada.</li> <li>7. In the circumstances indicated in the prophecy, Lui hurls the particular spear as described in the prophecy into the Giant's eye, and so slays him.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Not in M.</i></li> <li>2. A King cannot live unless his foot-holder be a virgin.</li> <li>3. His nephew, by trickery, gains access to the virgin foot-holder.</li> <li>4. The King's niece gives birth to a son.</li> <li>5. The son is denied a name, arms, and a wife, by his mother. He does not prosper until he gets arms from his mother.</li> <li>6. By magic means the son's uncle (father) forces the mother to give her son a name, Llew Llawgyffes, and arms. He also obtains a wife for him.</li> <li>7. The son, Llew, grows up and slays his wife's paramour in a certain position, with a spear prepared in a certain way.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

*Discrepancies in M.*

§31. If we now examine *M* we shall see that there are four serious breaks in the story :

(1) The King about whom this exciting fact is told has no further part in the story, except as a very subsidiary character.

(2) It is the King's virgin foot-holder with whom the King's nephew has intercourse, but it is the King's niece who gives birth to a son.

(3) The slaying of the paramour is clearly not in the fundamental frame-work of the story ; it is only *one* of the Son's acts, and it bears no relation to the first part of the tale.

(4) No explanation is given why the son should be denied a name, arms, and a wife.

From a comparison of the tabulated sections of *S* and *M*, it can be seen that *S* contains the preliminary statement which supplies all the motive of the plot (and a good deal besides, as we shall see further on), namely that it was the prophecy that he would be killed by his daughter's son which caused him to guard jealously his daughter's virginity. This section of the story is altogether absent from *M*, and with it has gone all the motive of the story. What is the missing first section in *M*? It is clear that it should correspond to the first section in *S*. It should be an account of a prophecy that the King would be slain by his daughter's son with a particular spear, and in particular circumstances.

### *The Virgin Foot-holder.*

§32. Why cannot the King live unless his foot-holder be a virgin? If the question is asked in a slightly different form, it will be much easier to answer,—why did the King's death depend on his foot-holder losing her virginity? or,—why should the consequence of the foot-holder's loss of her virginity cause the King's death? Let us turn to *S*, and there the same question may be asked, but *S* (as we have noted) supplies the answer. Why should the consequence of the Giant's daughter's loss of her virginity cause the Giant's death? The answer is given,—because it had been prophesied that the daughter's son would slay him. Let us apply to *M* the answer which is expressly supplied in section 1 of *S*; that is, apply to the Welsh version of Lugh's story the answer given in the Irish version :

*The King's death was consequent on his foot-holder's loss his virginity, because the result of that loss would be the birth of son, and it had been prophesied that the foot-holder's son would slay the King.*

But why the foot-holder's son? The story of *Math* states that the King's foot-holder, Goewin, was raped by Gilvaethwy, but the most important and vital character, Llew, the son, was the son of Arianrhod, Math's niece, who was tested as Goewin's successor for the office. The introduction of "Goewin daughter of Pebin of Dôl Bebin" will be explained later, but so far we can only say that she is one of the *cul-de-sac* characters in which the Mabinogion abound. It needs no argument to show, first, that it is *the mother of Llew* who is important, and then, that the real significance of the early portion of *Math* is that it is an account of the conception of Llew, just as the visit of Uther to Igraine and the deceit practised upon her by the magician Merlin is the story of Arthur's conception. It is in fact a *compert*.<sup>60</sup> So, in the Irish stories, it is the possible mother of Lugh that the King must at all costs keep a virgin; otherwise there is no meaning in the prophecy and in the measures which the king takes to guard against his destiny. The missing section 1 of *Math* can now be supplied:

*It had been prophesied that the son of Arianrhod, the King's foot-holder, would slay the King with a particular spear and in particular circumstances.*

§33. The same question may now be asked in another form,—why was Arianrhod the king's foot-holder? The answer is clearly given in *B*, though not a suggestion of it is found in *M*. In the Irish version, the Giant's treatment of his daughter was for the very best reason; he put her in a

<sup>60</sup> For an explanation of *compert* see §228.

ver away from all men because he wanted to make sure that e should not have a child. In the Welsh version, the king takes the same precaution, but has, it will be agreed, a very much more effective,—and incidentally, a more interesting—method ; he makes Arianrhod his foot-holder, because the physical position of the foot-holder made it impossible that she should ever lose her virginity, even if the king were to relax his guard and fall asleep.<sup>61</sup> The relationship of Arianrhod to Math, or, to speak more generally, of the foot-holder to the king, does not correspond to the relation of Ethnea to Balor in the Irish tales. This in itself is a matter of no great importance, as it only involves the substitution in the scheme of reconstruction of “niece” for “daughter.” On general grounds however, that is, apart from the particular *M* version of the story, it seems to be much more likely that the prophecy should be that a man’s destiny depended on his daughter’s son than on his niece’s ; in that case, *S* would represent the theme in a form nearer the original. One of the distinguishing marks of the Four Branches is the great prominence given to the social position of the nephew and niece. It is due, of course, to the existence of some form of inheritance other than the usual one of a son succeeding his father ; there is little doubt that the state of society denoted by this form of inheritance was matriarchal,<sup>62</sup> where the position of son and daughter was occupied by nephew and niece. This persists so strongly that it is an organic feature of some of the tales,—*e.g.* the inheritance of Ireland in *Branwen*,—even when the later redactors have lost the key to the explanation.

<sup>61</sup> There is a popular tale current in Wales, or at least in Caernarvonshire, which is very much to the point here, of a suspicious husband who adopted this very device,—not dignified, however, by the name of the foot-holder’s office,—to ensure his wife’s chastity.

<sup>62</sup> See author’s article, *THSC*, 1912-3, pp. 42-3.

The first portion of *Math* can now be reconstructed in this form :

(1) *It had been prophesied that the King would meet his death at the hands of his daughter's son, with a particular spear, and in particular circumstances. In order therefore that his daughter should have no son, he made her his foot-holder, so that no man might have access to her.*

§34. The several portions of our scheme, as far as it has grown, are now in agreement with the corresponding portions of *S*. The only change, therefore, that is necessary in the next portion is the substitution of "Hero"<sup>63</sup> for "nephew," not in order to prejudice the question of the identity of Llew's father, but that the scheme, in accordance with our plan, may be given in general terms. To the story then is added :

(2) *The Hero gains access by a magic trick to the King's foot-holder, his virgin daughter, and begets a child.*

(3) *The daughter gives birth to a son.*

### *The Three Destinies.*

§35. Now comes another of those incoherences in *Math* which were noticed at the beginning of this study. In the Irish version, that is in *S*, there is no mention of arms and wife, but it is from the grandfather, the Giant, that the Hero obtains a name for his son, and not from the mother as in *M*. Here *Math* is very much more definite than *S* ; it distinctly states that the mother swears a destiny upon the son that he shall have neither name nor arms, unless given by herself ;

<sup>63</sup> I use the word "Hero" here not to indicate the chief character of the story, but merely to ensure a chronological consistency. The real hero, of course, is the Son, but as the action of this preliminary portion of the son's life history is laid in the father's generation, I use "Hero" rather than "father" to denote the protagonist in the generation in which the story opens.

which means, of course, that she will take good care that he shall never have them. No reason, however, is given for this prohibition, except the very inadequate one that she is ashamed. Clearly, the with-holding of these three things are meant to be in some way unfavourable to Llew, and to hinder him from fulfilling his own destiny, namely, slaying his grandfather in a particular way. But who is mostly interested in hindering Llew? We shall see that it is very much to the interest of his grandfather that Llew should obtain none of these boons which are necessary to the normal man, and we have here to anticipate our later conclusions by considering, very briefly, the second prohibition,—arms. It had been prophesied, according to *B2*, that Lugh would slay Balor *with a red spear*. Now Balor understood that he had lost the first move in the game with his own tragic destiny; he had failed, in spite of all his precautions, to prevent the birth of his grandson, and according to *S*,<sup>64</sup> had failed also to take his life, when he came to know of the birth, or according to both *S* and *M* had been anticipated by the father taking the child, unknown to him, out of his power.<sup>65</sup> He therefore took another step to defeat the prophecy. If he could prevent his grandson having a red spear, he knew that he was safe, in spite of his previous failure. He would accordingly swear a destiny on the child that he should never receive arms, which meant, among other things, that he should never be instructed in the use of arms, including spear-throwing. This destiny, then, is another move by the grandfather to stave off his own death, and it has absolutely no meaning if sworn by the mother, whose life is in no wise threatened.

We can, then, confidently assert that in *M* the swearing of the three destinies has in the process of the development been transferred from the person whose life is threatened to

<sup>64</sup> This detail is given in *O*.

<sup>65</sup> This detail is given in *B1* and *Math*.

another ; that is, from the king to his daughter. The next portion of *M* may, in the light of the above, be re-written as follows :

(4) *The King swears a destiny on the son that he shall never have a name, never have arms, never have a wife.*

The fifth portion falls into place :

(5) *The Hero, by magic, forces the King to give the son a name and arms. By magic means also, he obtains a wife for him.*

*Whom did Llew Slay ?*

§36. In the next portion of *M*, another substitution has taken place. To set the matter in a clearer light, we must express part of the story in terms still more general, again eliminating all proper names, except that of the Son, who, being the only personage that, both in respect of his name and of his deeds, shows an absolute consistency in both versions of the story, *S* and *M*, is the one fixed point around which all the other characters revolve. Thus, putting the *S* and *M* versions side by side :

*S*

The story ends with the slaying by Lugh of a person in a certain set position, with a spear prepared in a certain way.

*M*

The story ends with the slaying by Llew of a person in a certain set position, with a spear prepared in a certain way.

There is, of course, by this time, no doubt as to the identity of the themes. The actions, in both stories, are the same, but which of the two gives the correct answer to the question,—whom did Lugh or Llew slay ? Against the Welsh version *M*, the argument is overwhelming. If our reconstruction is correct, that is, if we believe the unanimous testimony of the half dozen Irish stories of Lugh, he *must* kill his own grandfather, whomsoever else he kills besides ; the story has no

meaning or coherence unless for "person" we read, as in *S*, "his grandfather." The next section, then, will be as follows :

(6). *The son, Llew, grows up and, according to the prophecy, slays the King, his grandfather, with a spear prepared in the way prescribed, when the King is in a certain position indicated in the prophecy.*

### Σ. *Summary of Welsh Source.*

§37. If we put these six sections together, we shall get from the reconstruction a general scheme of *one* of the early stages of the tale in its simplest form. Such a scheme for the Irish stories we called *S* ; let us call this *Σ*.

*It had been prophesied of a certain King that he would meet his death at the hands of his only daughter's son, who would pierce him with a specially prepared spear at a certain specified time and in a certain specified position. In order, therefore, that no man might have access to his daughter, he made her his foot-holder, because in that way she would always be under his eye. By magic and trickery a man had access to the daughter and in due time the daughter gave birth to a son. The King, having failed to possess himself of the child,<sup>66</sup> swore upon him a destiny, by which he was prevented from receiving a name or arms, unless they were given by the King himself. He was also never to have a wife. By magic means his father got him a name, Llew, and arms from his grandfather ; by magic he also obtained a wife for him. Llew grew up, and slew the King with a spear prepared in the way indicated in the prophecy, when the King was in a certain position also indicated in the prophecy.*

<sup>66</sup> The existence of this in *Σ* is indicated by Gwydion's action in snatching the "something of her," and hiding it in a chest.



*Difference between S and Σ.*

§38. Let us now consider the differences between the Irish versions on the one hand and *Math* on the other, in addition to those that have been already noted. If we remember that *S* stands for a necessarily arbitrary summary of the Irish source of all the known versions, and  $\Sigma$  for a summary of the reconstructed Welsh original; if also we remember that our object is to explain the construction of *Math* and not primarily to explain the construction of the Irish versions,—then we may, for convenience, still denote all the Irish *B* versions together by the index *S*, and the reconstructed Welsh version by  $\Sigma$ .<sup>67</sup> In the present state of our inquiry, the only outstanding differences in the versions now denoted by *S* and  $\Sigma$  are : first, the destiny sworn on Llew in  $\Sigma$  by his grandfather, that he should not have name, arms, wife; the corresponding portion in *S* says that the child did not prosper until he should receive a name from his grandfather; connected with this difference are the varying accounts of the breaking of the destiny. Secondly a feature where the main facts are identical, but the subsidiary facts different, namely the two accounts of the precautions taken by the King to preserve his daughter's virginity. It will be convenient to study this feature first.

*Guarding the Daughter's Virginity.*

§39. It will be conceded that the disagreement is not very serious, as it does not touch the main theme. In *S* the precaution taken is the confinement of the daughter in a strong tower, guarded by seven-fold walls, on a lonely island

<sup>67</sup> Of course, *S* and  $\Sigma$ , it will be realised, have been deduced by two very different methods. *S* was obtained by boiling down and comparing a number of versions,  $\Sigma$  was reconstructed from the only available version by the help of a comparison with *S*.

off the coast.<sup>68</sup> In  $\Sigma$  the King tries to guard his life by having his foot *in sinu uteri virginis*. Now the question is this,—is either of these variants essential to the story of Lugh-Lleu, or can they have grown independently as different versions of the precaution in the very latest stage, after the story had attained its definite form? In other words, did the original tale confine itself to saying, “he therefore took precautions,” and did each version then, as they became separated, develop “precaution” each in its own way; or did a new method supplant an older in one of the two versions?

The first portion of the question does not seem difficult to answer. We should probably assume that, even in its very earliest stages, the story supplied some exact description of the precautions taken; it is entirely in harmony with the nature of such tales to seize upon an excellent opportunity to add a graphic incident of this kind. If this is so, which of the two methods is the earlier one? As for the method described in  $\Sigma$ , it should be noted that it was certainly not supplied by the “author” of the Mabinogi of *Math*, or by his immediate predecessor the *cyvarwydd*, the oral story-teller, because the “author” does not know why the king’s life depended on his foot-holder’s virginity, and the *cyvarwydd* from whom he received it was, presumably, equally ignorant, or he would have stated it plainly. He did not state it plainly, because if

<sup>68</sup> The exact words of *B1* are: “Balor, to put the daughter in the way that she’d never have a son, went to live on Tory, and built a castle on Tor mor, a cliff jutting into the ocean. He put twelve women to guard the daughter, and all around the castle he had cords fixed, and everyone of them tied to bells, so that no man could come in secret. If any man touched a cord, all the bells would ring and give notice, and Balor would seize him” (Curtin *HT*, p. 283). *B2* has: “Balor Beimenach can be killed only by the son of his daughter; he has her behind seven locked doors. No living person sees the daughter but himself. . . . He opens one door, goes in and locks it, opens the second, goes in and locks that, and so on. When he is inside in his daughter’s chamber the seven doors are locked behind him” (*ibid*, pp. 305-6).

he had done so the "author" would have known it. To go a step further, if the last *cyfarwydd* did not know it, it is unlikely that the other story-tellers of his generation knew it, or he would certainly have understood the vital importance of this part of his tale, because it is inconceivable that he should not have learnt it from intercourse with his contemporaries. The particular precaution taken by the king in  $\Sigma$ , then, must have belonged to the story at an early stage; and, with the information we have, it is difficult to assume that the lonely-island method in  $\delta$  has supplanted an earlier method, in the development of the story from the common parent of  $\delta$  and  $\Sigma$ .

§40. Let us consider the Irish version,—the confinement of the daughter in a tower on a lonely island. Now this is one of the best known of all folk-lore incidents and has the great merit of perfect obviousness; it is, in fact, the most elementary method possible of gaining the end. But, as an incident, it is generally associated with *The Giant's Daughter*,<sup>69</sup> a type quite distinct from this very specialised kind of story which is the subject of our study. The matter then stands thus, and for the present we must leave it:—of the two methods, one is untypical, with a character of its own not found elsewhere, a method which, in the historical development of the story, rapidly becomes inexplicable, once the key is even momentarily lost; the other is a familiar, universally recognised method that, from its very nature, will always bear on its face its own explanation. It is at once evident that, if any substitution has taken place, the presumption is in favour of the method of  $\delta$  having been substituted for the complex method of  $\Sigma$ ;

<sup>69</sup> The most important feature of the simplest form of the *Giant's Daughter* is the death of the Giant on the marriage of his daughter, not as the result of the birth of a grandson. There are many examples in Celtic literature; for instance, in *Kulhwch ac Olwen*. In Ireland, Aed had been foretold that if his daughter Celg married, that would be his death. Therefore he refused every man who demanded his daughter. (RC, xiii, p. 19).

in other words, that the story of the king ensuring his daughter's virginity by always keeping his foot in her lap, is original to the tale of Lugh and his Grandfather, and belonged, therefore, to the common source of  $\mathcal{S}$  and  $\Sigma$ .

### *The Destinies.*

§41. There now remain the varying versions of the destiny sworn on Lugh and Llew by the grandfather. It will be remembered that in *Math*, Arianrhod, because the presence and, apparently, the preservation of her child had made her ashamed, swore a destiny upon him that (1) he should have no name until she should give him one, (2) he should have no arms until she should clothe him in armour, and (3) "he should never have a wife from the race that is on this earth at the present time."<sup>70</sup> The skill of the story-teller is evident here. She did not swear these destinies at one and the same time, but swore the second when Gwydion had circumvented her over the first, and the third when she had lost over the second. In *B1*, there is no mention of such a destiny, but in *B2*, Balor, not knowing who the child was, called him "Little Long Hand" (Lui Lavada). "Oh, he has the name now," said Cian, and the story, of course, assumes that Cian had taken his son to Balor in order to have him named; that is to say, in order to overcome a destiny which prevented the child having a name except from his grandfather. In *B2*, the lack of a name had a bad effect on the child's growth. "The child was not thriving for three years, hardly lived, and was puny. 'The child is not doing well,' said Cian to the druid 'The child will do well yet,' answered Bark an Tra. 'Take him now to Lochlin as far as Balor; *the child will not thrive till his grandfather calls him by name.*'" In *Math*, there is no

<sup>70</sup> *na chaffo gŵreic vyth or genedyl yssyd ar y dayar honn yr awr honn. Kenedyl*, which is translated, "race" above, might be more exactly translated "species."

evil result mentioned on this account, but it is the second destiny that affects the child. "And there he reared Llew Llaw Gyffes till he could ride every horse, and till he was fulfilled of beauty and growth and size. And then Gwydion recognised by him that he took sorrow for the want of horses and arms." So that the bad effect that follows the first destiny in *B2* and the second destiny in *M* may probably be regarded as originally belonging to both. Is there then any significance in the difference between the two versions? Of two facts, both similarly predicated, why did *S* choose the one, and  $\Sigma$  the other? Students of folk-lore will perceive that here *B2* is in one respect much more primitive than *Math*,<sup>71</sup> though the particular version available is, as a document, about six hundred years later. It has preserved a very widely spread belief that the Name is a vital part of the personality, in fact a kind of soul, and that to be without a name is to be deprived of one of the essentials of life.<sup>72</sup> The Welsh *cyvarwydd* responsible for the present form of this incident in *Math*, not understanding the point of the story, naturally omitted it,

<sup>71</sup> *O*, it will be remembered, like *B1*, omits the naming incident altogether.

<sup>72</sup> On this subject see Clodd, *Tom Tit Tot*, pp. 87 ff. and Rhŷs's suggestive, if somewhat diffuse, treatise in *CF* II, pp. 624 ff. The belief in the importance of the Name is still existent in Wales. The writer well remembers hearing, as a boy, in the parish of Llanddeiniolen in Caernarvonshire, a father and mother discussing the case of their ailing child, and arranging to have it immediately christened; because, they said, the child was not expected to thrive till he was christened. On consulting his own parents about this mystery, the writer was treated to an excellent piece of rationalisation: the child, they said, might die, and it was important that it should not die unchristened. But the young questioner was by no means satisfied, as his curiosity had been piqued by the rather shame-faced way in which the parents of the child had mentioned their belief. I may say that all the persons mentioned were still alive in 1927. "In many parts [of Scotland] still it is a rule to have at least partial baptism administered, it being held to be unlucky for the child to pass unchristened."—Henderson, *Survivals in Belief*, pp. 216–7.

while it was preserved by the more unsophisticated story-teller of Ireland. As to the bad effect of the second destiny, the positions are reversed ; it is not mentioned in any Irish version, because the second destiny itself is lost from them. It is preserved in *Math*, in a slightly different form. "He took sorrow for the want of *horses and arms*;"—that was a possibility easily understood by the *cyfarwyddon* who were responsible for the final form of *Math*. They lived at the very time when knighthood was in its glory, when to be without the appurtenances of knighthood might well appear nothing less than tragic to a young man of noble blood. They may even have had in mind the well-known addition in *Peredur* of the theme of the *Amadán Mór*. Peredur's mother, because she had lost all her family in "tournaments and wars," retired with her remaining son, Peredur, to the desert. No one dared, in the hearing of the child, mention either horses or arms, lest the child should set his mind upon them. One day he saw three knights of Arthur's court. "Mother," said Peredur, "what are those there?" "They are angels, my son," said she. "Here is my faith," said Peredur, "that I will go and be an angel with them." He questioned the strangers, and found that they were not angels, but knights. He then with witties imitated the trappings of the horses, and set out after them on his mother's pack-horses, having a fistful of darts in his hand.<sup>73</sup> It is the same fashion that is in evidence here in *Peredur* as in *Math*. The addition of "horses" to "arms" in the latter shows quite clearly that it was in a similar light that the "author" of *Math* regarded the prohibition involved in the second destiny.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *RB*, pp. 193-5; *WB*, pp. 59-60, 286. In *RB*, *kynnullaw* (assemble) is substituted for *kymwyll* (mention) of *WB* in the second sentence.

<sup>74</sup> "To take arms" was apparently the technical equivalent in Ireland for what would in the Arthurian stories be called "being made a knight." In the Cuchulain Saga, for instance, Cathbad the druid prophesied that he who would "take arms" on a certain day (that is, Cuchulain) would be short-lived.

*What is the Meaning of the Destinies?*

§42. How are we to explain these three destinies laid, according to our reconstruction, by his grandfather upon Llew? Why should he swear these destinies upon him? It is clear that his object was not, as one might assume from the importance of the Name in folk-lore, to interfere with the growth, that is with the life, of his grandson, since we cannot apply this explanation to the second and third destinies. Let us consider, for a moment, what has happened. The King has been foiled in his first attempt to make his life secure; he has failed to prevent the birth of his grandson. He has again been foiled when, according to *O* he failed to drown the child, or when according to *B1* and *M*, he was anticipated by the child's father or patron. The swearing of the destinies is therefore the next logical action,—a third attempt to secure his own life against the fate prophesied for him. If we assume, then, that this is a method of guarding the King's life, how can such prohibitions as are involved in the destinies make the prophecy of no force? In other words, what form could the prophecy have taken which would explain the potency of the destinies against it? It will be conceded, I think, that the following reconstruction of the prophecy will answer our question, and fully satisfy all the requirements: *It had been prophesied that the Giant-King would be killed by his grandson Llew Llaw Gyffes (Lui Lavada), with a spear on the night of his (Llew's) wedding.*

The prohibitions are now seen in their true perspective, they are a threefold protection against the fulfilment of the prophecy. The grandson was to be called Llew (Lleu),—therefore the Giant-King swears a destiny that he shall have no name, because if he has no name, then a person called Llew Llawgyffes cannot kill him; the grandson is to kill him with a spear, then his destiny must be that he have no arms, because if he has no arms, then Llew Llawgyffes cannot kill him with

a spear; he is to slay him on his wedding night, then Llew must have no wife, because, if he has no wife, then he cannot have a wedding night.

### *The Form of the Prophecy.*

§43. We have now to ask a further question,—why was the prophecy put in this form? Was there anything in the history of Lleu-Lugh which might attract these particular features into the story? Nothing more need be said about the Name; Llew possessed this in common with every human being, but what is the significance of the spear, and of the wedding? The significance is this, that in Ireland *Lugh was famous both for his spear and as a bridegroom*. As to the spear, it will be sufficient to mention here that Irish tradition knew of Lugh as the possessor of a famous spear, though perhaps too much stress should not be laid on this point, as many other Irish heroes, Cuchulain for instance, were also distinguished in the same way. In the account of the battle of Moytura,<sup>75</sup> it is stated that Lugh had a special spear, so that “no battle was ever won against it or him who held it in his hand.”<sup>76</sup> It is more to the point, probably, to mention the account given in the naming-incident in *Math*. “And thereupon, behold, a wren alighted on board the ship. And the youth shot him, and hit him between the sinew of his leg and the bone; and she laughed. ‘Truly,’ said she, ‘it was with an unerring hand that the Lion (Llew) hit him.’” No equivalent to that incident in the Irish stories is known to me, except of course, the killing of Balor, which, in *L*, is as follows: “The Dul Dauna put a ring to his eye, and he saw his grandfather on the deck walking. He took a dart from his pocket and flung at him, and killed him.” The Welsh name *Llawgyffe* “with the Unerring Hand,” was given the child because he was

<sup>75</sup> RC, xiii, 57.

<sup>76</sup> In the *Metrical Dindshenchas* (III, 40) Bua is mentioned as *ben Loga mic Céin cleth-rúaid*, “wife of Lugh, son of Cian of the red spears.”



a good marksman, and it is probable that the Irish "Long-handed," *Lamhfháda*, was originally a recognition of the same quality. In the tale of *Conall*,<sup>77</sup> presently to be studied as a form of the Lugh story, the hero pins a monster's arms to the ground with an arrow, and threatens in this manner "to sew him to the earth." It is not unwarrantable to suppose, then, that in typical tales of Lugh, he was famous as a marksman. If this be so, then the reason for the particular form of the second portion of the destiny is clear.

### *Llew's Wedding.*

§44. But why should the prophecy state that Llew was to slay his grandfather *on his wedding night*? On first consideration, one might be inclined to suspect here a contamination with the *Giant's Daughter* theme in which, as it is well-known, the Giant always loses his life on the day of his daughter's wedding. The *Giant's Daughter* theme had had a very large part in the present form of the *BOL* version, that is in the Irish stories, but the explanation of Llew's wedding cannot be sought here, nor need we suppose any contamination from another theme. Llew slew his grandfather on his wedding night *because Lugh's wedding was traditionally, in Ireland, the most important and the most widely-known event in his history.*

### *The Lugnassad.*

§45. The great feast of Ireland associated with Lugh was the Lugnassad, which was held at different times and places, but which was most particularly celebrated at a place called Teltown,<sup>78</sup> in Meath. Keating<sup>79</sup> states that

<sup>77</sup> Campbell, *TWH*, ii, 164.

<sup>78</sup> In Irish *Tailltiu*, gen. *Taillten*, Rhôs, *HL*, p. 409. *Tri háenaig Hérenn: áenach Tailten, áenach Crúachan, áenach Colmáin Ela.* "The three fairs of Ireland: the fair of Teltown, the fair of Croghan, the fair of Colman Elo." (Kuno Meyer, *The Triads of Ireland*, p. 4).

<sup>79</sup> *History of Ireland*, pp. 126 ff.

“Lugh Lámfhada son of Cian took the kingship of Erin for forty years. It is this Lugh that first instituted the fair of Tailltin, as an annual commemoration of Tailltiu, daughter of Maghmór, that is to say, the King of Spain ; and she was wife to Eochaidh mac Eirc, last king of the Fir Bolg. . . It is by this woman that Lugh Lámfhada was fostered and educated, until he was fit to bear arms. It is as a commemoration of honour to her that Lugh instituted the games of the fair of Tailltin, a fortnight before Lammas and a fortnight after, in imitation of the games called Olympic ; and it is from this commemoration which Lugh made, that the name Lughnasadh is given to the first day or calends of August, that is to say, Lugh’s *nasadh*, or commemoration.”

Similar commemorations were held also on a plain in the barony of Kells down to the ninth century ; at Cruachan on the first August, and at Carman, now Wexford, at the same time. “Among the blessings promised to the men of Leinster from holding it and duly celebrating the established games, were plenty of corn, fruit and milk, abundance of fish in their lakes and rivers, domestic prosperity, and immunity from the yoke of any other province. On the other hand, the evils to follow from the neglect of this institution were to be failure and early greyness on them and their kings.”<sup>80</sup> Rhÿs, who made an exhaustive study of these legends of the Lughnassad, has come to a conclusion very different from the account given by Keating and others concerning the nature of these feasts. His argument is briefly as follows :<sup>81</sup> A funereal interpretation has been given to these feasts because both Tailltin and Cruachan are mentioned as among the chief burial-places of pagan Ireland, and Carman is also alluded to

<sup>80</sup> Rhÿs, *HL*, p. 411.

<sup>81</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 411-7.

as a cemetery.<sup>82</sup> Another explanation however is given in one of the Irish Academy MSS, where it is stated that Lug Scimaig made a feast for Lug mac Ethlenn after the battle of Mag Tured,<sup>83</sup> "for this was his wedding of the kingship, since the Tuatha Dé Danann made the aforesaid Lugh king after the death of Nuada." It is probable, therefore, that *nassad* did not mean either a commemoration or a festival, since it is a word of the same origin as the Latin *nexus*, "a tying or binding together, a legal obligation," and is found elsewhere<sup>84</sup> meaning "legal sanction," and, in the very manuscript alluded to above, in the sense of betrothing one's daughter, or giving her away by solemn contract to a husband; and lastly, the participial form *nassa* is used of a girl who has been betrothed. These facts, and the curious allusion to Lugh's "wedding the kingdom," go to prove that the term *Lugnassad* originally meant "Lugh's wedding." Now, if the *Lugnassad* recalled the marriage of Lugh, it would be also regarded as an auspicious time for the marriages of his worshippers, and this was certainly the case. O'Donovan says that there was, close to Teltown, a hollow called *Lag an Aonaigh*, "the hollow of the Fair," where, according to tradition, marriages were solemnised in pagan times. Such are Rhys's arguments for supposing that the *Lugnassad* was really a celebration of the marriage of Lugh. It must be remembered that he wrote at a time before the work of Sir James Frazer and others had furnished students of anthropology with an abundance of examples of such ceremonial marriage celebrations. The present day reader who is familiar with his *Golden Bough* will recognise at once that the rewards for due observance and the punishments for neglect enumerated above are the very special marks of a primitive marriage ritual, and we know, by this time, that folk rituals are only "commemorative" when they repeat such solemnities as

<sup>82</sup> See *Book of the Dun Cow*, 31b, 39a, 51 a: *Book of Leinster*, 215 a.

<sup>83</sup> i.e. Moytura.

<sup>84</sup> *Book of the Dun Cow*, 118 b.

they "commemorate." This is, however, a concern of the anthropologist, but I think that it will be conceded that all modern research confirms Rhys's explanation, and that the great event in Lugh's life was his wedding.<sup>85</sup>

*Lugh's Wedding in B.*

§46. But do the Irish Balor tales contain no reference to this most important event which, as we have inferred from the data supplied by *Math*, must have been part of the original story? The answer is certain,—*B1 contains the incident, but in a disguised form.* It will be remembered that in the summary given of that version, Lugh attends a wedding, at which certain events took place which led immediately to the slaying of Balor. This portion is of sufficient importance to be quoted in full.<sup>86</sup>

" . . . Lui did not know that he was Balor's grandson. He knew that his father had been killed by Balor's men, and he was waiting to avenge him. A couple of years later there was a wedding on the mainland, and it was the custom that no one was to begin to eat at a wedding till Maol and Mullag<sup>87</sup> should carve the first slices. They did not come this time in season and all the guests were impatient. "I'll carve the meat for you," said Balor's grandson. With that he carved some slices, and all present began to eat and drink. After a while Maol and Mullag came, and they were in a great rage because the people were eating, drinking, and enjoying the wedding feast without themselves. When all had finished eating and drinking, and were ready to go home, Maol said,

<sup>85</sup> According to the *Dindshenchas* (III, 50), the gathering at Tailltiu was to commemorate the death of Lugh's wives Bui and Nas, the daughter of Ruadri, King of Britain.

<sup>86</sup> Curtin, *HT*, pp. 291-3.

<sup>87</sup> These were Balor's agents who had stolen Glas Gavlen.

“the bride will go with me.” The bride began to cry when she heard that, and was in great distress. Lui Lavada asked what trouble was on her, and the people told him, that since Balor’s two deputies were ruling on the mainland, it was their custom at weddings that Maol, the first in authority, should keep company with the bride the first evening, and Mullag the second evening. “It’s time to put a stop to that,” said Lui Lavada, Balor’s grandson. With that he walked up to the two and said, “Ye’ll go home out of this as ye are.” Maol answered with insult, and made an offer to strike him. Lui caught Maol then and split his tongue ; he cut a hole in each of his cheeks, and putting one half of the tongue through the left cheek, and the other through the right, he thrust a sliver of wood through the tips of each half. He took Mullag then and treated him in like manner. The people led the two down to the seashore after that. Lui put Maol in one boat and Mullag in another, and let them go with the wind, which carried them out in the ocean, and there is no account that any man saved them. Balor swore vengeance on the people for destroying his men and especially on Lui Lavada. . . He set out in a rage from Tory. . . The grandson was there before him, and had a spear ready and red hot. . .”

Whatever may be the meaning of this particular presentation of the incident, it is sufficient to note here that the immediate occasion of Lugh’s slaying of Balor is a wedding, so that the prophecy which we are discussing, in the form which we have by inference assigned to it, is confirmed in both  $\Sigma$  and  $\delta$ ,—in the former, because the grandfather, to safe-guard himself, swears on his grandson the destiny that he shall have no wife, and therefore no wedding ; in the latter, because the whole incident of the wedding is preserved after the real significance had been lost, a wonderful and, to a reader inexperienced in

the science of stories, an almost incredible example of the tenacity of tradition. It is, however, just a nameless wedding ; the bride-groom is not mentioned, and as the incident is presented to us here, it is inessential to the story of Lugh and Balor. No one, I think, will doubt that in an older form of the tale, it was an organic part of the plot, that is to say, these happenings took place at Lugh's own wedding. Now it is to be noticed that it is in this particular version alone that the agents Maol and Mullag appear. Whereas in the other versions, it is Balor himself who steals the cow, here he sends his agents to steal it. The introduction of these men is, therefore, both in that incident and in the account of the wedding, a peculiarity of *B1*. We can safely assume that they have usurped Balor's own functions in the latter instance, as well as in the former, and that the claimant of the *jus primae noctis* was not an agent of the lord, but the lord himself. Balor, then, appeared at Lugh's wedding and claimed seignorage over the bride, and the bridegroom slew him. We can now rewrite the seventh section of *S*, in the light of our later researches, as follows :

(7). *In the circumstances indicated in the prophecy, that is, on his own wedding night, Lui hurled the particular spear as described in the prophecy into the Giant's eye and so slew him.*

PART II.

VARIANTS OF THE  
*KING AND HIS PROPHESED DEATH*

*General Assumptions.*

§47. We have now established the main lines of the Lugh story, and have seen that, shorn of all additional matter, and restored to what appears its logical sequence, it has a very strongly marked motive running through it, namely the precautions taken by a Giant to guard his life against his daughter's son. It must, however, be emphasised that we have not, by this simplification, rid ourselves of the additions and of what may be called the subsidiary themes. As they stand in *Math*, they are a vital and necessary part of the Mabinogi, and we shall not have completed our study before we have given, at least tentatively, some reason for their presence ; before, in fact, we have subjected them to an examination as minute as that of the main theme. It will not be necessary to explain in the same way the numerous involutions of the Irish analogies, as our object is not primarily to study the whole Lugh-Lleu legend, but chiefly to explain the structure of one example of it, the story of *Math*. Probably no apology is needed for making some six very important assumptions, (in any case the apology would come somewhat late), namely, (1) that vital incidents in folklore and in traditional stories are frequently forgotten or omitted, even when the result of such an omission is absolute chaos ; (2) that quite unrelated and extraneous themes may be introduced into the tale ; and as a corollary, (3) that further new incidents have to be invented in order to make such an introduction plausible ; (4) that actions and descriptions are regularly transferred from one character to another ; and as a corollary, (5) that the actions and descriptions proper to each character have to be altered in order to make such a transference possible, and (6) that the whole tale, or parts of it, may be transferred to new characters or names which were not originally connected with it. Abundant evidence to justify each one of these assumptions will be found in the course of this study. Indeed, they are only such



assumptions as are necessary to every science that deals with any portion of human life. The philologist, for example, has based his science on such assumptions as "people in speaking sometimes transfer two sounds of a certain kind," or "people in speaking have a tendency to substitute a slightly different sound for one of a pair of similar ones." The fact that he calls these processes *Metathesis* and *Differentiation* does not destroy their character as assumptions; we cannot explain *wasp* and *popularis* except by making these assumptions; their credibility depends on the number of such words as *wasp* and *popularis* which we can so explain. In the same way, the student of stories need make no apology for making the six assumptions we have tabulated above,—and many others,—whenever it seems necessary to do so in order to explain the structure of the story. "This is a fact of importance," says the late Alfred Nutt in dealing with a certain tale, "when it is remembered how frequently incidents and characteristics are transferred from principal to subsidiary personages."<sup>88</sup> It will be recognised that if such changes did not take place in the handing down of a story, the Russian version, for instance, of an Aryan tale would to-day be similar in every respect, except perhaps in degree of condensation, to the Welsh or Irish or English version.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *FLR*, IV, 6.

<sup>89</sup> The following passage is instructive on this point. "Ere reciting the incidents of the Fionn or Ossian saga, especially the lays, it is the custom among good Highland seanachies to give a short statement of the facts which are at the foundation of the narrative. Such a concise statement they term *an urspáinn*. They often, quite rightly and modestly, regard the lays, as they have them, as very incomplete in comparison with what they once were, and a reciter often regrets he cannot knit the tale well together. . . . One hears the complaint that there are nowadays only fragmentary tales (*smodail*), and of these a reciter often says, even when he knows a tale very well, *cha b' urrainn domh 'cur air a ballaibh*=I could not arrange it consecutively." (Henderson, *The Fionn Saga*, *CR*, I, 352.)

*The Fenian Cycle.*

§48. Before we can profitably make a further study of *Math*, it is necessary to discover if any of the apparently subsidiary themes have a closer connection with the *King and his prophesied Death* formula as exemplified in our text. Is there any reason to suppose that certain of the changes in the version under notice have taken place at an earlier period than others? Are any of the subsidiary themes more closely allied to the main theme? In short, what features may we suppose to be original to the parent story of both *Math* on the one hand and the Irish tales on the other? In seeking light on these matters, we must turn to a remarkable series of tales which are associated with the name of the Irish Finn, and which not only bear a close resemblance to the *Lugh-Lleu* legend, but, if not originally identical with it, have been so mixed with it as almost to lose all claim to an independent existence.

The so-called Fenian Cycle, of which the Finn stories form a part, is the second and later great story-cycle of Ireland, the first being the Cuchulain Saga. In time, the Fenian Cycle drove out the older saga in popular favour, but it is remarkable that it has never been in turn ousted by a more recent cycle; for 1200 or 1500 years it has remained alive, and something much more than mere preservation is implied by the word. "There was probably not a century from the seventh to the eighteenth in which new stories, poems, and redactions of sagas concerning Finn and the Fenians were not invented and put in circulation, while to this very day many stories never committed to manuscript are current about them amongst the Irish and Scotch Gaelic-speaking populations. We have found no such steady interest evinced by the people in the Red Branch romances,<sup>90</sup> and in attempting to collect Irish folklore I have found next to nothing about Cuchulain and his contemporaries, but great quantities about Finn, Ossian,

<sup>90</sup> i.e. the Cuchulain Saga.

Oscar, Goll, and Conan. The one cycle, then, antique in tone, language, and surroundings, was, I suspect, that of the chiefs, the great men, and the bards; the other—at least in later times,—more that of the un-bardic classes and of the people.”<sup>91</sup> It will be noticed that of the modern versions the more important come from Gaelic Scotland, and that, while the Fenian Cycle as a whole forms a vast collection of stories, comparatively few ancient manuscripts contain an account of Finn’s parentage, which alone concerns us. The most interesting version in some respects is of West Highland origin, and has Conall instead of Finn as its chief character. Here follow summaries of the more important available versions, which will be denoted by the letters *C*, *F1*, *F2*, *F3*, *F4*, *F5*, *F6*, *F7*, *F8*, *F9*.

### *C. Conall.*<sup>92</sup>

§49. The king of Erin had a sister who had three sons, Ferghus, Lagh an Laidh, and Conall, the youngest. Ferghus was expelled from Erin because he was too anxious to insist on his position as the king’s heir. He had an army to help him from the king of Alba,<sup>93</sup> with Boinne Breat his son at their head, and another from the king of Sassun.<sup>94</sup> With these he returned to Erin. The king of Erin then went to gather his forces. He came to *An t’Iubhar*.<sup>95</sup> There was only one man in Iubhar, called Goibhlean Gobha,—Goivlean

<sup>91</sup> Douglas Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 375.

<sup>92</sup> Campbell, *TWH*, vol. ii, pp. 148–180. It was related by Alexander McNeill, tenant and fisherman of Barra, who had heard it recited by his father and several others. “This story,” says Campbell (*op. cit.*, p. 179), “is one of a number, all of which relate to a certain Conall, who was a natural son of a king of Eirinn, and came to be king himself. There are generally two elder brothers born of the queen (instead of three uncles), who are less brave than the illegitimate brother. The mother is generally the daughter of an old man who has magical arts. . . . One of the names, or one like it, occurs in a MS., said to be of the twelfth century, in a tale called ‘The Story of Art MacCuinn, King of Ireland, and the battle of Magh Muckruinne’ . . . The tales about Conall are all over the Highlands.”

<sup>93</sup> Scotland. <sup>94</sup> England.

<sup>95</sup> Newry. But this name is also applied elsewhere to Jewry, e.g. in the *Story of Conall Galban*, in *TWH*, iii, p. 203.

the Smith. He went into the house for something to drink. The smith's daughter gave him to drink of the milk of Glas Ghoibhlean, the smith's magic cow. Before he left, *fhuaire'n nighean da fhín*,—the girl was his own. She said, "Now I am ashamed, give me something"; the king promised her great gifts. "What shall I do," said she, "if Ferghus killed you?" When the smith came in he said, "Thou hadst a maiden's slow eyelash when I went out, thou hast the brisk eye-lash of a wife now."<sup>96</sup> Next day the smith and his daughter went to the king's camp. The daughter stayed with the king that night, and had a dream which the king interpreted to mean: "Ferghus will kill me. At once do thou seize my set of arms and keep them. When thy boy is born, thou shalt suckle him. Keep the arms. Send him into the world a-wandering, till he find out who he is. He will be king over Erin, and his children for nine generations." In the battle that followed between the king's forces and Ferghus's, Ferghus cut off the king's head. The smith's daughter then went and took his arms, as directed. The smith's daughter gave birth to a son, and called him Conall Mac Righ Eireann,—Conall, son of the king of Erin. Later she took him to the mountains and left him there. After many adventures in which he distinguished himself, the king<sup>97</sup> sent men to kill him, but he got the sword from them and sent them home. Then he thought: "I was not born without a mother, and I was not begotten without a father. I will know who I am." He went to the Iubhar, and found his mother washing; he then thought in himself that it was his mother. He went behind her and put a hand on her breast. "Indeed," said he, "a foster son of thy right breast am I." She gave her head a toss, "Thy like of a drudge,"<sup>98</sup> I never had a son or a foster son." "I will cut off thy head," said he, "unless thou tell me who I am." She answered, "Still be thy hand, a *Chonaill mhic righ Eireann*,—Conall, son of the king of Erin." "I knew myself," said he, "I was that; but who killed my father?" "Ferghus killed him," said his mother, "and Lagh an Laidh killed Boinne Breat." "Who kept my father's arms?" said Conall. His mother fetched them and gave them to him. He put them on, and they fitted exactly. "I will neither eat nor drink," said he, "till I find that man." He went away and saw a *uile bheist*, a monster, in the wilds. He put an arrow to his bow, and launched it at him. He struck him in the right fore-arm, and

<sup>96</sup> *Bha rasg maull maighdinn agad nur a chaidh mi mach; tha rasg brisg mna agad an drásd.*

<sup>97</sup> That is, presumably, Ferghus.

<sup>98</sup> *Do leithid de tharlaid.*

shouted to him, "Move not a sinew of thy sinews, nor a hair of thy locks, until thou promise to see me a king over Erin, or I will send down enough darts to sew thee to the earth." The monster did not yield, so he aimed again, and struck him on the left fore-arm. Then the monster yielded. They went to Ferghus's palace, and demanded his head. Lagh an Laidh cut off Ferghus's head and took it to Conall, who then, after a fight, cut off Lagh an Laidh's head. He became king of Erin.

### *F1. The Birth of Fionn.<sup>99</sup>*

#### *(Staffa Version.)*

§50. A king destroyed all the possessions of Fionn's father, but there was a prophecy that he (Fionn's father) would leave a son to win back his right. Fionn's father went into the house of a smith, and had intercourse with his daughter. The father was very angry, and by the orders of the king the daughter was sent to prison until the time of her delivery, where she was carefully watched. After nine months, she was in labour and bore a daughter. When the guardsmen perceived this, they left and ran with the joyous tidings unto the king. But later in the same night she bore a son. No one would attend to her but Luas Lurgan (Speedy Foot). No sooner was the boy-infant born than Luas Lurgan took him up in her skirts, no one knew whither. She came to her brother, the carpenter, Coban Saor,<sup>100</sup> the best artisan in Ireland. "Thanks be to God," he said, "that the matter lieth so. Who knows but the prophecy shall yet come to pass?" They took the child to Ulster, and the carpenter made him a bed in the trunk of a tree, so that it was impossible for anyone to discover it. Luas Lurgan then cut off her brother's head, so that no one should share the secret with her. The mother Cumhal<sup>1</sup> had died ere this. Luas Lurgan brought up the child, who was waxing in age and sense, and instructed him in archery and shinty. They went together to the royal capital.

<sup>99</sup> CR, i, 355 ff. The story was originally gathered orally from Donald Maclean (b. 1715) who probably got it from his grandfather, Malcolm Macphail of Toronsay in Mull.

<sup>100</sup> This name is not given in the Staffa version, but is given in a Mull version of 1800 (CR, ii, 13).

<sup>1</sup> Cumhal was, of course, Finn's father. The narrator of this story was probably (as the editor, the late George Henderson, suggested) influenced by the Biblical *cubhall*, "handmaiden," and made Cumhal, or Cubhall, as he spells the name, the mother instead of the father.

The child's feats made him so famous that the king came to visit him. "What white-fair<sup>2</sup> lad is that?" said the king. "If he should stay with myself, I would put clothes and raiment on him." The foster-mother exclaimed, "O darling of me, long unbaptized wert thou! But to-day thou art baptized of a truth, and thou art he, Fionn son of Cumal, son of Ludich." Fionn, having thus got his name, escaped. He got to know that a fisherman he met, Orcu Dubh, had slain his father, and knew also that it was his father's sword by his side. With the sword he slew his father's slayer. Then he came and lived in the house of his grandfather, the smith. One day the smith's sheep went to the royal garden, on which the king commanded that the fourth leg of each sheep should be cut off. This was the king who had killed Fionn's father. Finally, by the help of the king of Ulster, he regained his father's throne.<sup>3</sup>

## F2. The Birth of Fionn.<sup>4</sup>

(Campbell of Islay Version<sup>5</sup>, 1st part.)

§51. Cumal was king of the Féinn. After conquering Alba, he would not return to Ireland. "No," he said, "I say that if you return to Ireland, the king would rather see you buried on a hill than face you." The king of Ireland plotted with the king of Lochlann to get rid of Cumal, and learnt from Arc Dubh<sup>6</sup> that Cumal's death is in his own sword, *Mac a Luinne*, and that will only slay him in the arms of his wife. So they brought the king of Lochlann's daughter to be Cumal's wife. They took the (bridal) couple through seven doors and seven rooms, and left them there. They locked the seven doors as they went out. Arc Dubh was hid in the inner room, and slew Cumal with *Mac a Luinne*.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. fionn, "white."

<sup>3</sup> In spite of the reference to the fisherman above, I have omitted all the fisherman episode, as it has no bearing on our study, being the usual "thumb of knowledge" tale.

<sup>4</sup> CR, ii, 4. I suppose this version came from Tobermory in 1870. But Campbell's MSS. seem to be so confused that their editor does not attempt to disentangle them.

<sup>5</sup> As far as I can understand Campbell's note, his versions are a composite record made in 1871 from the recitals of eleven men, mostly from S.Uist.

<sup>6</sup> *Orcu Dubh* of F1.

(Campbell of Islay's Version, 2nd part.)<sup>7</sup>

When Cumal was slain, the king of Lochlann came to Alba. In Ireland, the king [of Lochlann]'s daughter was to bear her child. The king ordered, "If she has a son, slay him, if she has a daughter, let her live." "Swear twelve doctors and twelve midwives," said Arc Dubh, "to tell when the child is born." They feared that Cumal's son might do them harm, if he lived. At the end of a year and nine months, a girl was born, and a word was sent to the king of Eirinn. The doctors fell to merry-making and the midwives fell asleep, all but one. That midwife found that the king's daughter had a boy in her arms. She wrapped him up in some clothes and took him away and put him in a hole at the end of the byre. In the morning, she tucked the child under her clothes and took him to her brother, Art, but he was away building a great castle. She went to the castle and persuaded her brother to make a shelter of sticks and beans. After he had finished, she cut off his head, so that he could tell no tales. Now that is the way in which Fionn's grandfather, the king of Lochlann, managed to slay Fionn's father Cumal, and that is how Finn was saved. He was so swift that he caught the birds on the trees.<sup>8</sup> [Many incidents are quoted to prove his prowess, all common to the story of the *Amadán Mór*.<sup>9</sup>] One day he drowned all the schoolboys who played with him. His grandfather, the King of Lochlann, was looking through the window. "*Co leis an gille maol fionn?*" said he,—“who is that roundheaded fair boy?” “Water is about him” shouted the nurse. “He has gotten his name from his grandfather, Fionn, son of Cumal.” When the traitor<sup>10</sup> was slain, Fionn took the sword. One day he was sleeping and a man from Lochlann called Ubhal *Lamh Fhad* stole all the arms. By a trick he got them all back again, and among them his sword *Mac-a-Luinn*.

<sup>7</sup> CR, ii, 15 ff; 135 ff. From Mull about 1871. Another version which covers both F<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>3</sub>, but has no particular interest of its own, is *Mar a chuireadh suas an Fhinn* (How the Eén was set up). Campbell, TWH, iii, 348.

<sup>8</sup> CR, ii, 136. As the documents are so untidily presented, I am not certain whether this portion belongs to the preceding. Probably it is part of the “composite recension.”

<sup>9</sup> The theme, too, of the first part of *Peredur*.

<sup>10</sup> *Orc Dubh*.

F3. *The Boyish Exploits of Finn mac Cumhail.*<sup>11</sup>

§52. There was a great fighting concerning the chieftainship, and Cumhal was slain in the battle of Cnucha. He left his wife Muireann pregnant, and she bore a son giving him the name Deimne. Fiacaíl son of Cúcheann (mac Concinn), Bodhmhall the Druidess, and the Liath Luachra came to visit Muireann, and took the boy away, as his mother dared not risk him to be with her. He was brought up by the two women, Bodmall and the Liath Luachra, in the wilderness, for many were waiting to destroy him. His mother came to visit him. One day he threw a cast<sup>12</sup> at a duck and ducklings, and cut her feathers and wings off. Afterwards he fled with certain artificers,<sup>13</sup> but his nurses took him back with them. One day he beat some youths at hurley, near a fortress. The youths told the owner of the fortress, and he ordered them to kill him. "What manner of man is he?" said the owner. "A fair shapely lad,"—(*macaem tuctach find*), said they. "Deimne shall be called *Finn* on that account," said he. (*Is ainm do Demne Find amlaid sin*). So from that day he was called Finn (Fionn). He drowned some youths in a lake. "Who drowned the youths?" said they all. "Fionn," said they. So from that time he was called Fionn. He was warned by the King that his life was in danger, and fled to the house of Lochan, a chief-smith. There he married the smith's daughter. The smith made spears for him.

F4. *Cause of the Battle of Cnucha.*<sup>14</sup>

§53. The druid Tadg had a daughter, Murni Muncaim. Cumall loved her, and carried her away by force. Cond, Cumall's master, slew him because he would not restore Murni at his bidding. Murni was pregnant, and her father sought to destroy her;<sup>15</sup> she therefore sought refuge in the house of Cumall's sister. Here her son was born, and he was called Demni. When he grew up he proclaimed battle against Tadg, or else demanded his father's *eric* to be paid him. Tadg gave him his stronghold Almu.

<sup>11</sup> *Mac-ghníomhartha Fhinn*, Dublin, 1904. The text of this fragment is from the *Psalter of Cashel*, a MS. of the 15th century.

<sup>12</sup> *Tarlaic urchur fúithib*.

<sup>13</sup> *la aes cearda*.

<sup>14</sup> Edited by Hennessy in *RC*, II, 86. The Irish text is from the early part of the 12th century.

<sup>15</sup> To burn her, according to the story.



*F5. The Fight of Castle Knoc.<sup>16</sup>*

Cumhail, father of Fion, ruled the Fianna in the reign of Con of the Hundred Battles. While in Scotland he heard that Con had transferred his dignities to his own foster-father, Crimthan. So he returned to harry Con's provinces. Con took the field against him with the help of Goll mac Morna, and a terrible warrior Liath Luachra, and others. When they were preparing for battle at Cnucha (Castle Knoc), Cumhail met Muirrean, daughter of the Druid Tadg, and had intercourse with her. Tadg swore vengeance on him for the loss of his daughter's honour and, before the battle, spread through his druidic acts such a thick fog over the country that Cumhail's messenger, Balar, was unable to find the fairy coat of mail and glaive and spear which he desired, and had to take inferior arms. When a presentiment of his coming defeat fell upon him, he called his servant Boghmin, and ordered her to care for his son and Muirrean's when he should be born. The fighting was terrific, and Goll and Cumhail met in single combat. Goll slew Cumhail, but "when all hope was lost they (i.e. Cumhail's men) retired in close array, and still kept their furious foemen in check." [The rest of the story is concerned with the bringing up of Finn by Boghmin, the naming of him *Fion* by the king, and a long list of exploits. There is also an account of the unfaithfulness of his wife Grainne who ran away with Diarmuid.]

*F6. Fionn mac Cumhail.<sup>17</sup>*

§54. In *The Fians*, the editor gives a kind of harmonised recension of the Finn story, which is valuable to us as showing what the legend of Finn meant to a Gaelic-speaking Celt brought up in the atmosphere of these heroic tales. The following is a brief summary of it :

Fionn mac Cumhail was a posthumous son. Cumhal, the father, was driven from his possessions, and fighting ensued. In the heat of battle, he entered the house of the Ulster smith, and asked for a drink of water. The smith's daughter was the only one in, and she gave him the drink if he could take it out of the only vessel at hand,

<sup>16</sup> Kennedy, *LFIC*, p. 190. Like all Kennedy's collections, this story has suffered badly at his hands. He was garrulous, moralising and portentous,—as bad a type as can be found of the Irishman who wrote for English eyes. His main concern was to make Ireland and the Irish interesting and romantic to the English. Both Ireland and Wales have suffered from this offensive form of snobbery.

<sup>17</sup> J. G. Campbell, *The Fians*, p. 16.

which had nine pipes (*feadain*), which had to be kept closed by the fingers. The water spouted through one of the holes, and the smith's daughter laughed. He threw the dish from him and returned to battle. On his way, when lying wounded, he was slain by Arcai Dubh. He took Cumhal's sword and killed Cumhal with it from behind. A report had spread abroad (*bha e san tairgreachd*), that a son of Cumhal would avenge his death. The enemy<sup>18</sup> ordered that every male child for the next nine months was to be slain. Among the watchers of these births was Los Lurgann (Speedy Foot), sister of Cumhal. The first-born was a male child, and Los Lurgann put a lump of fat in his mouth to keep him quiet. A female child was then born, and Los Lurgann removed the first-born and took him to her brother, the joiner-smith (*gobhan saor*), the best smith that ever lived. He made a house for them in the woods, and then Los Lurgann cut his head off, so that no one should share the secret. Here she taught him feats of valour. All that was now wanted was a suitable name for him and she took him to a lake where the children of those who had been his father's enemies were playing, with their parents looking on. Los Lurgann bade him go and avenge his father's death. He kept the children under water, until one of those ashore said, "*Co Fionn Ban tha sior bhathadh nam mac?*"—Who is the Fair White who is ever drowning the children? "May you enjoy your name," said Los Lurgann, "your name from this time will be *Fionn*." In this way the son of Cumhal received his name. [Then comes the incident of the Salmon of Knowledge, where he meets Arcai Dubh fishing]. He asked Arcai Dubh what was the death of Cumhal. He answered, "*Raoiceadh e mar ghamhuin's . . . e mar ghearran's mo shleagh siar triomh fheaman*"—"He roared like a yearling calf . . . and like a gelding when my spear went slanting through his back." [Another account says that] he found out (by means of the Salmon of Knowledge) how Arcai Dubh killed his father, and said, "That is just the death I am going to give you," and taking Arcai's fishing-rod, broke it against his knee, and with a piece of the rod, he knocked down Arcai and then killed him. He also learnt (again by means of the Salmon of Knowledge), that his mother was the ugliest woman in Ireland. He came in time to the house of the Ulster smith. Being in need of a sword to make his way in the world, his mother, the smith's daughter, who came to recognise him, said that her father would make a sword for him of so fine a temper that it would never require a second blow. This was the celebrated *Mac-an-Luinn*. She warned him to be careful not to enter the smithy while her father was to be at work upon the sword. The

<sup>18</sup> That is, presumably, the man or men who had driven Cumhal from his possessions.

material he was to use would be iron and coals, "from a place that was not good" (*le gual's le iaruin a aite nach robh math*), and the sword was to be tempered in the blood of the first living creature that entered the smithy,—man, woman, or dog.<sup>19</sup> When the sword was nearly finished, she sent a dog into the smithy. So Fionn got his renowned sword. He then went in search of his father's men. The word passed among them like wild-fire. *Thainig am fáth fíor*,—what was foretold has come true. Another account says: Fionn went for service to the Clanna Mòlum (his father's enemies). His mother gave him a bag of apples and three pins (*deilg*). When he entered the palace they said to him, "*Biatachd abhul, oganaich, b'dill leinn fhaotuinn uait*" (Food of apples, youth, we would fain get from you). But none of them could lift the bag, but Fionn took it on the point of a twig. He then put out a fire in the palace by sticking his three pins (*deilg*) in the floor. In another account, it was his father's men that he impressed by lifting the bag of apples, which none could lift, on his little finger.

### F7. *The Birth of Finn.*

§55. A second account of Finn is given by Campbell,<sup>20</sup> of which the following is a summary :

Cumhal was driven by the Lochlinners to a castle in a loch in Ireland. He had long arms (*bha gaoirdeanan fada aige*), and no-one could overcome him under armour. The Lochlin men planned to send a beautiful woman to a grassy islet, in sight of the castle. She was to walk where Cumhal would see her, and at last he would swim to where she was. He was then to be killed by Arcaidh Dubh, who was to hide himself among the grass till he got the opportunity. This was done, and the Lochlin obtained possession of all Ireland, and the Féinn<sup>21</sup> were driven to take refuge in a cave by the seashore. Fionn's mother<sup>22</sup> was taken care of, and if her offspring were a boy, he was to be killed. She had first a girl, and word was sent to the watchers surrounding the house. Before long a boy was born, and Luaths Lurgann, the sister of Cumhal, caught him in her apron, and brought him up.

<sup>19</sup> That is, presumably, why he was forbidden to enter the smithy.

<sup>20</sup> *The Fians*, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> i.e. Cumhal's party.

<sup>22</sup> i.e. the beautiful woman on the islet.

F8. *The Birth of Finn.*

§56. The next version<sup>23</sup> has few points of interest, so only those parts are summarised which differ from other versions :

When Cumhal was killed, twins were born to his wife. When Fionn drowned the boys who played with him and when a woman who was looking on called him *fionn*, Los Lurgann said, "*Gu meall thu t-ainm 'se Fionn bhios ort as a dheigh so, 's bha thu gun ainm gus a so*,—May you enjoy your name; you will be called Fionn always after this, and you were without a name till now" . . . Fionn ran away, and met the Ulster smith, to whom he engaged himself for a year and a day, and who made a sword for him.<sup>24</sup> He cut off the smith's head with it.

F9. *Birth of Finn.*<sup>25</sup>

§57. Cumhal mac Art was a great champion—it was prophesied of him that if ever he married he would meet death in the next battle he fought. So he knew no woman for a long time; one day he married the king's daughter in secret. Next day after the marriage news came that a battle had to be fought. A druid had told the king that his daughter's son would take the kingdom from him; so he made up his mind that no man might come near her. Before going to battle, Cumhal told his mother everything, and his relations with the king's daughter. He said, "I shall be killed to-day in battle, and I am afraid that if his daughter has a son, the king will kill the child, for the prophecy is that he will lose the kingdom by the son of his own daughter. Now, if she has a son, do you hide and rear him. Cumhal was killed in battle and within that year the king's daughter had a son. By command of his grandfather, the boy was thrown into the loch on the day of his birth. He came up holding a live salmon. His grandmother took him and vanished with him. The king then ordered all the male children to be put to death. The old woman took the child to a thick forest, and hired a man to cut a chamber in the tree. She then killed the man with his own axe. [Then follow the usual details of teaching the boy to run as in most versions of the Finn story.]

<sup>23</sup> *The Fians*, p. 24.

<sup>24</sup> As described in *F7*.

<sup>25</sup> Curtin, *Myths and Folk-lore of Ireland*, p. 204.

When he was fifteen, the boy played a game of hurly and defeated the king's people. The king then asked, "Who is that *fin cumhal* (white cap)?" "Ah, that is it; Finn will be his name, and Finn MacCumhail he is," said the grandmother. The king then pursued them, and his men slew the grandmother. [Then follow the details about the Salmon of Knowledge, mixed with an *Odysseus and Cyclops* type of story.]

*The Position of the Mother.*

§58. We shall not attempt the reconstruction of the Conall-Finn legend, which would require much more space than we can devote to it in a study of *Math*, though it will be inevitable that as we proceed, we should try to correlate some of the widely differing statements found in the various versions. We shall rather seek what light we may find in the *CF* series on the outstanding problems in *Math*. The first of these seems to be the relation of Llew to his own mother, and the transference of the destiny-swearing from the grandfather to her. Was this transference a bungle made by the Welsh story-tellers? Did it take place after the Welsh tale had become separated from the main body of Celtic tradition, or had the change already been made in the legend in its more primitive forms? The Balor legends are unanimous. There seems to be no doubt as to the position of the mother; she is throughout a passive agent, and her importance is her relationship on the one hand to the Giant, and on the other to the Son. She had no interest in the child once it has been taken away from her, except, in B1, to rear it when it was returned to her by the father, nor is she concerned to save her father from his fate. On these points, the Balor versions show few signs of outside contamination. Here *Math* differs widely from its Irish analogues, as may be seen from a summary of this part. When Arianrhod was brought to Math as a candidate for the office of foot-holder, Math asked her if she was a maiden. She answered evasively that, as far as she knew, she was. Math ordered her to step over his magic wand. When she

had done so, she left a child on the floor. She went towards the door and left "some small thing of her," and before anyone could do anything, Gwydion picked it up, wrapped it up, and concealed it in a chest. One day Gwydion awoke and found that in the chest this "small thing" had developed into a boy. He gave him to a woman in the town to nurture. When he was four years old, he took him to Arianrhod's court, and presented the child to her as her own. She was angry because Gwydion had "followed her shame and kept it as long as that." In her anger, she swore that he should never have a name, unless she gave it, never have arms unless she armed him, never have a wife of the race of men. Gwydion, by a trick, forced Arianrhod to name her son, to arm him, and he himself made a wife for him by magic

### *Math and CF.*

§59. It is obvious that in the Balor versions *BOLGT* as a whole, the illegitimacy of Lugh is of no importance. The whole story, of course, belongs to the tradition of the earlier Cuchulain saga, where marriage, as we know it, did not count. Indeed, in the *Mabinogion*, the institution of marriage is not recognised, and the usual phrase for a man and a woman beginning to cohabit, whether legitimately or otherwise, is "he slept with her."<sup>26</sup> Besides, if we assume as we have done in our reconstruction of  $\Sigma$  above that the birth of Llew is the result of the assault on the king's foot-holder, no moral blame could be attached to the mother. It seems that the twist given to the narrative in *Math* is due to contamination with a special form of the Finn legend, which in turn, was derived from the older legend of Lugh. It is significant that in some of the *CF* stories, we have the exact parallel to *Math*, especially in *C*, which in many other respects seems to stand

<sup>26</sup> For references see the author's article, *THSC* 1912-3, pp. 14 ff.

half-way between the more or less pure Lugh legend as found in *BOLGT*, and the more individual Finn legend as found in *F*. There, on the one hand, the child is named by his mother, and his arms are also procured by her as in *Math*, while, on the other hand, we find introduced to the story the smith *Goibhlean Gobha* who possesses a magic cow, exactly as in *BOL*. Leaving aside for the present the similarity of *C* to *BOL* we can now consider the striking analogy between *C* and *Math*, by placing some of the items of the particular incident which we are studying in parallel columns :

*Math.*

1. Llew is reared apart from his mother.
2. Llew is taken to his mother to get a name.
3. The mother, Arianrhod, is very angry with Llew's guardian for bringing him.
4. Llew gets his name by means of a trick of magic. The name is unwillingly given.
5. Llew's mother is forced to provide her son with arms.

*Conall.*

1. Conall is reared apart from his mother.
2. Conall goes to his mother to get a name.
3. The mother of Conall denies that she has a son, and upbraids Conall for coming to her.
4. Conall gets his name by means of a threat. The name is unwillingly given.
5. Conall's mother provides her son with his father's arms.

§60. In *Math* and *Conall* then we find this significant agreement,—that the mother, ashamed of the illegitimacy of her son, desires to deny him altogether, but is forced in the end not only to recognise him, but to give him name and arms. We have also seen that it is essential to the Lugh-Llew legend that his grandfather should deny him name and arms ; so that we must seek for some reason why this episode was transferred from the grandfather to the mother. Is there, in short, some well recognised type of story where it is the mother and not the grandfather who plays such a part ? If so, did it contaminate *Math* ? And further, is the Conall story itself a Lugh legend which has suffered the same fate as the Welsh story ?

*Expulsion and Return.*

§61. Students of the science of folklore will recognise at once in *C* traces of von Hahn's well-known and much over-worked formula of the *Expulsion and Return*,<sup>27</sup> such as the illegitimate birth, the rearing away from home, and the return to his own country. But it is precisely the particular parts that we are studying which appear to be outside that scheme. The rest of *Conall*'s story falls almost entirely into the formula ; the mother's shame and unwillingness, the naming, and the arming cannot be twisted to fit the frame-work. They are, it seems, as foreign to the groundwork of *Conall* as their connection with the mother is to the groundwork of *Math*. In the *F* versions, it is generally the grandfather who gives Finn his name, and when the incident of the arms is mentioned, it is usually Finn himself who secures them from his father's slayer. So that we may conclude that *Conall* bears the same relation to the Finn legends as *Math* does to the Lugh legends. Yet it seems a large assumption to suppose that *Math* and *Conall* were independently contaminated in the same way, especially as the reference to arms in *Conall* is much more definite (and therefore forms a closer analogy to *Math*;) than in *F* ; that is to say, than in the version which on other grounds is nearest akin to *Math*.

§62. The conclusion to which we are driven then by a comparison of *C* and *Math* is that early in the history of Celtic, or rather Goidelic<sup>28</sup> story, the well-defined legend of the *King and his Prophesied Death* was contaminated by a somewhat

<sup>27</sup> J. G. von Hahn, *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien*, Jena, 1876. It is discussed and applied to Celtic stories by Alfred Nutt, *FLR*, IV, 1-44. Nutt seems to me to be extremely rash in his conclusions. He erects isolated examples into rules, as when he incorporates with von Hahn's formula, as one necessary item, the catching by the hero of a magic fish of knowledge.

<sup>28</sup> Anticipating here the conclusion that *Math* is altogether Goidelic in origin, though developed in Wales.



similar tale, where the birth of the Son is for some reason or other regarded by the mother as shameful ; where the mother herself is anxious that her son shall have no name because she wishes to sever every connection between her and him. Once this transference of the naming incident was made from the grandfather to the mother, the giving of arms, if retained at all, would naturally follow. It is indeed significant that *Math* insists on the insufficiency of Arianrhod's reason for her shame, for when Gwydion took the boy to her for the first time and explained to her that it was her son, she exclaimed, "Alas, man, what might come on thee to shame me, and to pursue my shame and keep it as long as this?" Gwydion replied, "If there be on thee no greater shame than that I should rear a child as noble as this, it is a small thing that thy shame will be."<sup>29</sup>

#### *The Mother's Shame.*

§63. It should be noticed that the giving of a name by the mother to the hitherto unnamed son is, of course, a commonplace of folklore ; so is the giving of the father's arms,—his famous sword or his famous spear. It is hardly necessary to give examples to illustrate this kind of story, which is generally of the *Sohrab and Rustem* type, where a youth born after the departure of his father is kept in ignorance of his parentage, but is given by his mother a particular name which the father on his departure had left with her to bestow upon their son about to be born ; often she bestows also on him some trinket or piece of armour which has been left in the same way.<sup>30</sup> But as we have said above, the peculiarity of *Math* and *Conall* is the insistence on the mother's shame, and her unwillingness to recognise her son. To what type of story is this peculiarity due ?

<sup>29</sup> *RB*, p. 69 ; *WB*, p. 48.

<sup>30</sup> For other examples see von Hahn, *op. cit.* ; Nutt's article already referred to ; and particularly Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*. Also, Larminie *WIFT*, pp. 85-105.

## PG. Pope Gregory.

§64. There exists a well-defined series of tales, mostly hagiological, where there is very good reason why the mother should be ashamed, because the child is born of an incestuous union. This kind of story is well illustrated by the *Tale of the Wonderful Dispensations of Providence, and the Rise of Pope Gregory*,<sup>31</sup> which we shall call PG :

The Emperor Marcus had a son and daughter. After his death, they "sat in the same chair," and shared the same room at night. In spite of the girl's pleading, the son "violated every law both human and divine." She wept bitterly and refused all comfort. They repented, and confessed their sin to an old knight, who counselled the emperor to go to the Holy Land, and he promised that he would look after the sister. "I will so provide," he said, "that her parturition be kept secret, and every one remain ignorant of her fate, except my wife." She was thereupon conveyed to the knight's castle, where the wife was summoned to attend her, swearing by all she held sacred to keep the secret. Soon the lady was delivered of a boy. "As soon as the knight understood this, he entreated permission to call in a priest for the purpose of performing the rite of baptism. But she positively refused, declaring its shameful birth forbade her to interfere, since it would expose her to detection and disgrace. . . . "My vow is registered in heaven," said the lady; "I have sworn." So they prepared a cask, and placed the infant in it with tablets inscribed with the words, "Know ye all that this infant is not baptized, because it is the unholy offspring of incestuous affection." The Knight then cast it to the sea. Soon after news came that the Emperor was dead. The Duke of Burgundy sought the lady's hand (she was now Empress, having succeeded her brother), and on being refused, harried her lands. The Empress escaped and shut herself for many years in a strongly fortified city. Meanwhile some monks had rescued the child from the cask and baptized him by the name of Gregory. He was playing one day with his foster-brother and struck him, whereupon his foster-mother reproached him with his doubtful birth. Perturbed by this, he went forth into the world, having been knighted by the monks, and came one day to a strange city that was being beleaguered. He fought for the lady who ruled the land and conquered her enemy. He married her, and after some time it was discovered from the tablets that he carried with him, that he was her son. "My son," cried she, "woe is me." He was in very great distress. [The rest of the story does not concern us.]

<sup>31</sup> *Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 197-207.

*The Child born of Incest.*

§65. The incident described in the quotation above is common in Celtic heroic lore, both in Ireland and in Wales,<sup>32</sup> as will be seen from the following illustrations :

*FFM. Fiacha Fer Mara.*<sup>33</sup>

Fiacha Fer Mara, whence is it? Easy to say. Oengus Tuirmech, through drunkenness, begot Fiacha on his daughter. This seemed very hard to Oengus, his own daughter to bear a son to him. This is the counsel which Oengus framed, to conceal the boy well, so that he might not be known for a son of his. The little boy was put to sea into a one-hide boat, but with the insignia of a king's son. The king of Scotland's fishermen found him under the *fiachaibh*, "osiers" (?) Wherefore the name *Fiacha Fer Mara* (Man of the Sea) clave to him.

*MC. Mordrec.*<sup>34</sup>

King Artus had intercourse with his half-sister, the wife of King Loth, not knowing her to be his half-sister. The child was Mordrec. Loth told his wife that she must send him to her brother. He was put in a cradle (*berchuel*), which was then put into a ship, and many ladies and gentlemen accompanied the child. All were drowned except the child. A fisher found the cradle and carried it home to his wife.

<sup>32</sup> This is substantially the history of Saint Cenydd (Keneth), who is commemorated in Senghenydd in Glamorgan. His life was written by John of Tynemouth about 1320, and is found in the Cottonian Collection (Tiberius E, i). Dihoc was prince of Britanny in the days of King Arthur. He had a son Keneth who was incestuously begotten. Dihoc ordered the child to be thrown into the river, but a priest first baptized him and gave him the name Keneth. It is to be noticed here that it is the father who is described as being ashamed of his son, and who (inferentially, as the baptism by the priest *after* the order to throw the child into the river is mentioned) refused to give him a name. *British Saints*, under Cenydd.

<sup>33</sup> Windisch, *Irische Texte*, III, p. 313, taken from a MS. at Trinity College, Dublin, of about 1500 A.D., but which goes back through earlier copies to the twelfth century. This story is No. 55 of the *Cóir Anman*,—a series of explanations of Irish names. The formula "whence is it?" means, "how did he get the name?"

<sup>34</sup> From the Huth *Merlin* (Sommer, iii, 69).

Sometimes the birth is merely illegitimate and not incestuous, as in the following :

*MS. Meliadus.*<sup>35</sup>

Meliadus was the illegitimate child of King Meliadus and the Queen of Scotland. The mother ordered the child to be placed in a ship, and sent to sea.

*Essentials of the Incestuous-Birth Story.*

§66. There are other examples in Celtic lore of brother and sister being parents of the hero, though the withholding of the name and the apparently essential sending away in a ship or a cask are not always mentioned.<sup>36</sup> In the majority of stories of the type illustrated above, the mother is ashamed of the incestuous begetting of her son, and when he is born, sends him away nameless. It is noteworthy that the invariable characteristic of the incestuous-birth story is the casting away of the child in the cask or ship. Conversely we may hold that when the cask or ship appears in a story of this kind, it may be assumed that the child was incestuously begotten. The general formula which would cover these stories would seem to be something of this kind :

(1) A man has intercourse with his sister or his daughter, who does not know of the relationship.

It is probable that in the more primitive versions neither parent knows of the relationship, but for our purpose it is necessary to insist on the innocence of the woman only.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 202, from *Les Prophecies de Merlin*, Paris, 1526.

<sup>36</sup> e.g. Conchobar and Dechtire are the parents of Cuchulain. It is true that Dechtire in the Egerton MS. version is made to give birth to Cuchulain, without sleeping with Conchobar, which he had demanded of her as his right, being her over-lord, and not knowing who she was. But the whole story leads up to this, and it is quite evident that we have here an altered version of the original tale. In another version in the Egerton MS, the nobles are actually suspicious that Conchobar is the cause of Dechtire's pregnancy.

- (2) When the woman discovers the relationship, she is much distressed, and consequently makes preparations to conceal the birth of her son.

In the story from the *Gesta Romanorum* quoted above, we have, as usual in this collection, a highly sophisticated monkish version of the mother's revulsion of feeling ; it is not due to a discovery of the relationship, but to repentance. But it is clear that we can discount this statement of the case as the natural moralistic distortion which is evident throughout all the *Gesta*.

- (3) When the child is born, the mother refuses to have him named, and casts him away in a cask or a ship.

- (4) He is rescued by a fisherman, and brought up by him as his son.

- (5) He sets out to the world to find out who he is.

- (6) He comes by accident upon his mother, who is beleaguered in a castle, and delivers her from her enemies.

*Traces of the Theme in Math and Conall.*

§67. Here we have something which is very similar in form to *Math* and *Conall*. To take *Math* and compare it with the story of the Incestuous Birth (leaving out for the moment the vital point, namely the incest), we find that in both cases, (a) the mother is ashamed ; (b) she refuses to give her child a name ;<sup>37</sup> (c) she forsakes the child, who is adopted by another ; (d) the child in the one case is cast adrift on the sea, in the other, he immediately after birth makes for the sea, and becomes

<sup>37</sup> It would be interesting, were this an anthropological inquiry, to trace the connection between the namelessness of the child and his incestuous birth. Apparently the two conditions are indissolubly bound together in primitive custom. At least, that is the conclusion which is forced upon us by the fact that in one country the kings who were born of an incestuous marriage apparently bore no personal names but were all called Adonis. See Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, pp. 331-3.

a fish ;<sup>38</sup> (e) in the one case the child is taken to his mother to get a name, in the other he goes out to find who he is and comes to his mother ; (j) in the one case (at least in one example) he helps his beleaguered mother against her enemies, in the other he helps his beleaguered mother against enemies whom his uncle had conjured up by magic. The analogies are striking ; though the two tales are quite independent one of the other, the similarity is just sufficient to cause that noteworthy attraction which similar themes have for each other, whereby one influences the other sufficiently to add to it something of itself which substantially alters some vital section of the other. If then we can find that the basic similarity existed, namely the incestuous birth, we may safely assume that *Math* in one of its stages was so far influenced by the similar theme that the refusal of the name was transferred from the grandfather, as in the *Balor* and some *Finn* legends, to the mother, as in the *Math* and *Conall* legends.

#### *Llew's Father.*

§68. Llew's father is not specifically mentioned, but it is certain that he was Gwydion. In  $\Sigma$ , the earlier form of the mabinogi which we tried to reconstruct, the birth was of course the result of the assault upon the virgin foot-holder. In the final form of *Math*, there is no connection between the two events, and it leaves the rape without a result, and the birth of Llew without a cause. In our reconstruction  $\Sigma$ , the King's nephew who assaulted the foot-holder must be the father ; that is to say, the father of Llew is Gilvaethwy son of Dôn, and his mother is Arianrhod daughter of Dôn ; Llew

<sup>38</sup> Of course, it is Dylan and not Llew who becomes a fish, but the whole story of the birth is so confused that we cannot very well separate the histories of the twins. It may be that originally this was a ritual expiation, since incest was regarded as causing infertility in the land ; the dedication of the child to the water would therefore be a fertility rite. See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, p. 141.

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was the child born of an incestuous union, that of brother and sister. It would be sufficient for our present purpose to leave the matter at that, but to leave it would cause trouble further on. It is not difficult to see why, in the confusion which the duplication of the foot-holder made, Llew's parentage was shifted from one brother to the other. Gwydion was already known to be the father of Arianrhod's child, and in conformity with what regularly happens when a main incident and a main character are duplicated, the subsidiary incident or character which stands in vital relation to them was also duplicated. The original foot-holder is made into two, Goewin and Arianrhod, and the original subsidiary character, namely the father of the foot-holder's child, is also made into two, Gwydion still pairing with Arianrhod and Gilvaethwy with Goewin. Why Gilvaethwy was chosen, and what Gilvaethwy's true history was, will be indicated in due course,<sup>39</sup> but it is significant that Welsh poetic tradition knew of him only as a father :

The three sons of Gilvaethwy the Wicked,  
Three trusty wolf-men, (?)  
Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, Hychtwn Hir<sup>40</sup>

§69. Llew's father, we have said, is not specified in *Math*, but in an older version Gwydion was definitely so named, and traces of that fact have remained, probably unperceived by the later copyists. When Gwydion took Llew to Arianrhod for the first time, she asked him, "Pwy enw dy uab di?" "What is the name of *thy* son?"<sup>41</sup> It is rather amusing to find that the late Sir John Rhŷs quietly assumed, whenever he dealt

<sup>39</sup> See §§ 280ff, where it is argued that Gilvaethwy was originally the lover of Balor's wife.

<sup>40</sup> It may be that the author is not quoting the verse from memory, but incorporating it from a written source, as *cenryssedat* is in an orthography different from the rest of the story, where *cyn* is never written *cen*.

<sup>41</sup> *RB.* p. 59; *WB.* p. 48.

with this story, that Gwydion was Llew's father, thinking it so obvious that he did not trouble to call attention to his assumption.<sup>42</sup> But what seems to dispose of the matter finally is an independent tradition in Wales, according to which Gwydion's son, called Huan, was the husband of Blodeuwedd, and was killed by his wife, who was afterwards transformed into an owl for her sins.<sup>43</sup> Llew, then, according to the penultimate version of *Math* was the son of Gwydion and his sister Arianrhod. His birth was therefore incestuous, and the tradition of a well established theme of such a birth influenced *Math* in the direction of making the mother seek to conceal the existence of the child and to deny him a name. We may assume that this took place in a stage of development when the lover of the virgin foot-holder was still Gwydion, before his place had been taken by Gilvaethwy.

*Stages in the Development of the Mother's Story.*

§70. We are now in a position to make some attempt to review the different stages in the development of the mother's story, confining ourselves at this point to a consideration of Arianrhod, and leaving Goewin to be discussed later. In *S* as well as in *Σ*, the son's mother is not related to the Hero, the father. In *FC* generally the father is a stranger; yet in *FC*, and to a lesser extent in *Math*, the mother's shame is definitely one of the main motives of the whole action of this portion of the story. Now in *FC* it is to be observed that the father is a stranger; he does not belong to the mother's tribe or nation, and is often at war with it. So that there we have the same motive for hatred and distrust as in the well-known story theme of *The Calumniated Wife*. There, it will be remembered, a woman comes up from Annwvn, or from the

<sup>42</sup> "The first story relates how Gwydion thrice thwarted his mistress, Arianrhod, with regard to a son of theirs." *HL.*, p. 236.

<sup>43</sup> *Y Beirniad*, III, 258.



Sidhe, or from Fairyland, or from a far country, or from some other place which stands for the Other World, and becomes the wife of the king; the king's mother then (or the king's subjects in the Welsh tales)<sup>44</sup> show their hatred of her by bringing false accusations against her. Here in *FC* we have the other side of the same theme; a lover comes from another country, and begets a son, and the mother refuses her child a name because she does not know what the father's name is, and is ashamed because she knows that her own people will condemn her. That, with one exception to be presently mentioned, is as far as *FC* has developed. When we come to *Math*, we see that this formula will not serve to explain Arianrhod's attitude; the only explanation that will suit her case is that of the incestuous birth.

§71. But there are two further difficulties. First, *FC* contains a feature which belongs properly to the incestuous-birth story, namely the attempted drowning of the child. This is so persistent in all the versions that, though it is bodily removed from its proper place in some, and consequently loses its meaning, it still remains an integral portion of the tale. Thus in *F2*, it is said that one day the child drowned all the schoolboys that were playing with him; similarly in *F3*. The second point is that some of the *FC* versions have preserved the naming of the child by the mother and not by the grandfather. The different versions compare as follows:

- (1) *The father is a stranger.* *C, F2, F4, F5, F7, F9, S.*
- (2) *The birth is incestuous.* *Math, PG, FFM, MC, MS.*
- (3) *Twins are born.* *Math, F1, F2, F6, F7, F8, S.*
- (4) *Drowning theme in some form or another.* *Math, F1,<sup>45</sup> F2, F3, F6, F8, F9, PG, FFM, MC, MS, S.*

<sup>44</sup> In *Pwyll* and *Branwen*. Rhiannon in the former is definitely from Annwvn, Branwen in the latter is from a foreign country.

<sup>45</sup> He meets the fisherman Orcu Dubh.

- (5) *Boy is snatched away and/or hidden, and is brought up by a foster-parent in secrecy. Math, C,<sup>46</sup> F1, F2, F3, F6, F7, F9, PG, FFM.*
- (6) *The Mother is ashamed. Math, C, PG.*
- (7) *The Mother first refuses, then gives the child a name. Math, C, PG.<sup>47</sup>*
- (8) *The Grandfather, or someone who in later versions has obviously taken his place, gives the child a name. F1, F2, F3, F9.*
- The Mother gives him arms. Math, C, PG.<sup>48</sup>*
- (9) *The Grandfather or his agent slays the Hero, the Son's father. C,<sup>49</sup> F1,<sup>50</sup> F2, F6, F7, F9.*
- (10) *The Son slays his grandfather or his father's slayer. C, F6, F9.*
- (11) *The Son is a marksman. Math, C, F3.*

§72. A study of the above table will show to what an extent a mixing of all the motives has taken place in the different versions. If it proves anything at all, it proves that the transference of the name and arms-giving had taken place in the version of the Balor story as it was developed in Scotland ; we have no evidence that in Ireland the transference from the grandfather to the mother had taken place. In both the

<sup>46</sup> He is taken to a mountain and left there. This corresponds to the hiding of the child in other versions.

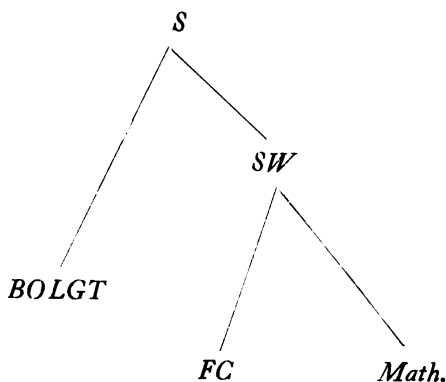
<sup>47</sup> The mother refuses a name.

<sup>48</sup> There is here an analogy to the story of Llew's obtaining arms, except that in *PG* the beleaguering of the castle in the sea is real.

<sup>49</sup> It is Ferghus who kills the Hero in *C*, and not the smith, the grandfather. But it is probable that in an older version the mother was Ferghus's daughter.

<sup>50</sup> So also here.

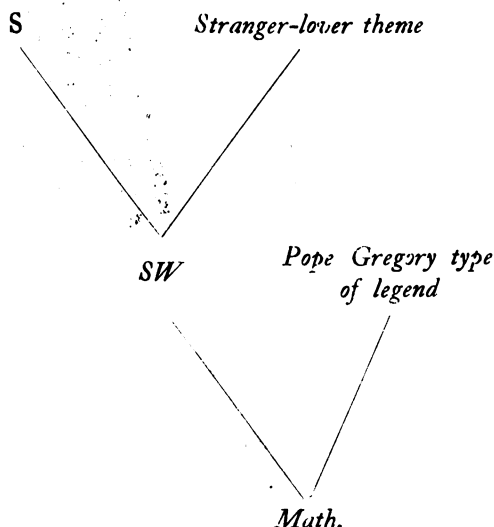
Scotch-Gaelic and Welsh versions, we find this same transference. Now, as both Scotch and Welsh versions have other features in common, some of them dependent upon the transference, it is possible to say that this cannot be regarded as a coincidence. Both give the same reason for the mother's refusal of a name,—namely her shame. We are driven then to the conclusion that it was not in Wales, in the later evolution of the story, that the transference was made, but in an early version which was the common ancestor of both the Scotch and the Welsh versions. The following table will represent the genealogy, where *SW* stands for that common ancestor :



*Why Arianrhod is the Daughter of Dôn.*

§73. But in *Math* the birth is incestuous ; that is the only reason contained in the mabinogi for the mother's shame and her refusal of arms and a name. It is suggested then that the shame of the mother and her refusal to give her child a name attracted to the mabinogi the similar but possibly unrelated

*Pope Gregory*<sup>51</sup> type of story where the incest is a main motive. This influence caused *Arianrhod* who was really the daughter of *Beli*<sup>52</sup> to become in *Math* the sister of her lover *Gwydion*, and therefore the daughter of *Dôn*. The changes which we have outlined may be represented thus :



### *The Smith in the Versions.*

§74. As the probable form of the earlier version of the life of *Llew* grows clearer, we become more and more conscious of one disturbing factor which is common to nearly all these stories, namely the presence of the Smith. It will have been already noticed that in this respect *Math* stands almost alone ; the rôle of the Smith in the Welsh story is of the most meagre,

<sup>51</sup> Long after writing the above, I found that my friend Professor Loomis had dealt with the *Pope Gregory* legend, but from rather a different angle in his *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*. See especially pp. 331-41.

<sup>52</sup> *Arianrhod* as the daughter of *Beli* is fully discussed in §§ 104ff.

while in the *Balor* and *Finn* versions he plays a part which is almost as important as that of the Hero ; indeed in some versions he is the Hero. The facts then, stated generally, are : (1) in some versions the part of the Smith is unimportant, (2) in some versions he plays an important part, e.g., in *Conall* he is the father of the Son's mother, (3) in some versions he is the uncle of the Hero, (4) in some versions, he makes the Hero's spear or sword. In other words, there is the greatest diversity among the versions as to who the Smith really was, a clear indication that he is a disturbing element, that is, that he has been introduced from the outside from some other legend, similar enough to the history of Llew to be incorporated with it.

§75. As this matter is of some importance to any final estimate of the comparative purity of the different versions, it is desirable that we should tabulate the rôles played by the Smith in the stories :

*B<sub>1</sub>.*

Gavidin the Smith is the owner of the cow Glas Gavlen. It is through leaving and following the cow that the father of Lui, Finn son of Kinealy, finds Balor's daughter. He makes swords for warriors. He prepares for Lui the spear with which he kills Balor.

*B<sub>2</sub>.*

Gaivnin Gow (the Smith) is the owner of the cow Glas Gownach. He prepares and tempers the spears of Balor's enemies. It is in tracing this cow that Cian, Lui's father, finds Balor's daughter. He makes for Lui the spear with which he kills Balor.

*O.*

Gavida is a smith and brother to Mac Kinealy, owner of the cow, Glas Gaivlen. Gavida brings up Lui his nephew, Mac Kinealy's son. Gavida becomes Balor's smith, and takes Lui with him to help him. Lui kills Balor with a red hot iron from Gavida's forge.

*L.*

Gobaun Seer advises Balor to employ as smith Gavidjean Gow. The Smith gets as wages the cow Gloss Gavlen. He makes swords for champions. Kian meets Balor's daughter when seeking the cow.

G.

Goibniu the Smith is of the family of Danu, and meets others to plot against Balor.

T.

No smith

C.

Goibhlean Gobha is a smith in An t'Iubhar. The King of Erin goes to his house before the battle and becomes the father of the Smith's daughter's child.

F<sub>1</sub>.

The Smith has a daughter who becomes the mother of Finn. He is brought up by Luas Lurgan, who has a brother Coban Saor, the best artisan in Ireland, who skilfully hides Finn in the trunk of a tree, and is afterwards slain by his sister so that he may not betray the secret. After slaying Orcu Dubh, his father's murderer, Finn returns to his grandfather the Smith, whose sheep have wandered into the royal garden.

F<sub>2</sub>.

Finn is the son of the King of Lochlann's daughter. As soon as he is born, a midwife snatches him away, and with the help of Art the carpenter,<sup>53</sup> her brother, makes a place to hide him. Afterwards the midwife cuts off her brother's head, to preserve the secret.

F<sub>3</sub>.

When Finn's life is in danger, he escapes to the house of Lochan, a chief-smith, and marries the Smith's daughter. The Smith makes spears for him.

F<sub>4</sub>.

No smith.

F<sub>5</sub>.

No smith.

F<sub>6</sub>.

Cumhal, Finn's father, in the heat of battle enters the house of the Ulster smith, and becomes the father of the Smith's daughter's son. When the child is born, Los Lurgann takes him to her brother the joiner-smith "gobhan saor," the best smith that ever lived. The Smith makes a house for them, and his sister then kills him to preserve the secret. After killing his father's murderer, Finn comes to the house of the Ulster smith, who makes for him his celebrated sword, *Mac-a-Luinn*; it is a magic sword, prepared according to a formula.

<sup>53</sup> This name may be for an original smith, or for Goban Saor. The relation of Gavida, Gavidin, Gwydion, Govannon, to the Carpenter (*Saor*) is very obscure. See §§77 ff.

F7.

No smith.

F8.

After drowning his playmates and obtaining his name, Finn engages himself for a year and a day to the Ulster smith. The Smith makes a sword for him according to a magic formula. After obtaining the sword, he cuts off the Smith's head with it.

F9.

No smith.

### *Govannon.*

§76. In *Math*, there is no smith at all. We have merely a casual mention of Govannon vab Dôn, the uncle of Llew and Dylan, as the cause of Dylan's death, and even this mention is in the nature of a gloss, and was probably incorporated in the story by one of its redactors, as many of the triads were. "And the throw from which his death came Govannon his uncle cast, and that was one of the three evil casts." Throughout Welsh literature, Govannon is an extremely shadowy figure. His name however involves a well-known termination which is the mark of a deity; that is to say, *Govannon*, or less probably *Govanhon*, goes back to a Keltic and British *Gobannonos*, which may be translated either "the great smith," or "the smith-god";<sup>54</sup> it has a termination characteristic of the more important of those names in the *Four Branches* which may be presumed to be British in origin. In old Welsh poetry, we read of *Caer Ofanhon*, "the caer of Govannon," in a poem of Taliesin belonging to the series of "boasting poems," which recount the exploits and the previous existences of the

<sup>54</sup> Compare the "queen goddess," *Rigantona-Rhiannon*; the "mother goddess," *Matrona - Modron*; "the king god," *Tigernonos-Teyrnon*; the "child god" or "son god," *Maponos-Mabon*; "the brother god," *Bratynos*. This last name does not appear in Welsh, but is the name of a man in a Gaulish inscription of Nérès-les-Bains. *La langue gauloise*, p. 167. For names of gods used as ordinary proper names, see *Les Druides*, p. 154.

poet. Here he seems to say, "I have been with men skilled-in-wizardry, with Math Hen, with Govannon . . . a year in the Caer of Govannon."<sup>55</sup> In another poem we read of the "seven spears of Govannon,"<sup>56</sup> and in *Culhwch*, one of the Welsh Arthurian romances, he is mentioned as a smith.<sup>57</sup>

### *Goibniu, Goban.*

§77. Long ago Rhys identified *Govannon* with the Irish *Goibniu*, genitive *Goibnenn*, or rather he identified the affected form *Gofynyon*<sup>58</sup> (i.e., *Gofynion*) with the Irish form,<sup>59</sup> but the correspondence is by no means as clear as Rhys assumed, for the two words seem to involve a different termination. That is, however, of little significance as there is no doubt that they are both forms of the same root *gobann*,—"smith," and for our purpose they may be regarded as one. But there are some further difficulties. The first is the name *Goban* with unmutated *b* instead of *bh*, which is the common form of the name of the Saor in Irish folk-tales, and which is attested by *L* and *F*. We have however plenty of instances of *bh* in other versions, *Gaiuin* in *B2*, *Goibhlean* in *C*; and in *F1* even the awkward *Goban Saor* appears as *gobhan saor*, though, to be sure, the words are not there regarded as a proper name, nor can we be certain how far the common word *gobha*, "smith," may have here influenced the form. In *B1* and *O* the Smith's name is to be found in the name of the cow *Glas Gavlen* (*B1*), or *Glas Gaiulen* (*O*), that is "Grey (Cow) of Gaiulen." *Goban* (= *Gobhan*) is probably a hypocoristic form of *Goibniu* (= *Gaiuin*) with the usual doubling of the consonant found in such forms, and *Goban* as a personage would then be a doublet of *Goibniu*.

<sup>55</sup> *BT*, 2, 3; *RBP*, 20; *FAB*, ii, 108, 303.

<sup>56</sup> *BBC*, 6. *FAB*, ii, 4. The name here is spelt with one *n*.

<sup>57</sup> *RB*, p. 121.

<sup>58</sup> Found in *Culhwch*, *RB*, p. 108.

<sup>59</sup> *CF*, p. 543; *HL*, pp. 90, 388.



*Gavida, Gwydion, Govannon.*

§78. The second difficulty is of greater importance, and is involved in the name *Gavida*, *Gavidin*. Rhys made no attempt to explain it, merely remarking that "practically then, the legend gives the smith two names—one the direct representative of the ancient Goibniu, and the other, *Gavida*, of a more obscure origin."<sup>60</sup> Obscure it certainly is, but we know enough about the transformations which proper names undergo in folklore to assert that the want of a correct philological connection between two names by no means proves that they are unrelated. All kinds of factors may have accounted for the divergence, such as defective memory, defective hearing, wilful changing towards a more familiar form, and, in written tales, copyists' errors,—to name only a few.<sup>61</sup> There is, therefore, no necessary linguistic barrier against assuming that *Goibhnenn*, the oblique form of *Goibhniu*, gave the different forms *Gaivnin* (B2), *Gavidin* (B1), *Gavidjeen* (L), *Gavlen* (B1), *Goibhlean* (C). Further, there is nothing improbable in the late Irish *Gavidin*, which (as long as the word was consciously associated with *gobha* "smith," where *bh = w*,) might be pronounced *Gawidin*, having developed in Welsh into *Gowidin*. Now the sons of Dôn, Govannon and Amaethon, have names ending in *-on*, and these names, I suggest, have affected *Gowidin* in the direction of *Gowidion*, which is practically the Welsh *Gwydion*. I wish to build no theory on this derivation, as etymology is proverbially marshy ground for a foundation; I merely wish to state that the derivation, through a *spoken* folk-tale, is not impossible, and that *Gwydion*, apart from Govannon, as one of the children

<sup>60</sup> *HL*, p. 319.

<sup>61</sup> e.g. *Seithenhen*, appears in *Culhwch*, R.B., 108, as *Teithi hen*. Of course we have the great storehouse of mutilated names in the French Arthurian cycle. See also the note on §9 where it is shown that *Arianrhod* has developed into *Rhiannon*.

of Dôn, has no correspondence in Irish.<sup>62</sup> If Gwydion eventually goes back to the original of *Gavidin*, then *Govannon* is a doublet, and probably a late learned formation, as one is inclined to suspect from the all too plain name of his brother, *Amaethon*, "the farmer god," or "the great farmer." Such a doublet actually occurs, as we have seen, in the Irish versions; both Gobaun Seer and Gavidjeen Gow are found in *L*, and a Smith (unnamed) and Coban Saor in *F1*, and *F7*. It is equally probable that Gwydion and Govannon in *Math* are such doublets.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The children of Dôn (Danu) are in Ireland represented by the Dagda Môr, Nuada, Ogma, Dian Cecht, *Goibniu*, Lug, Bod, Lir, Mider, Echaid Airem and Echaid Feidlech, Mac Cuill, Mac Cecht, Mac Greine. See Rhŷs, *HL*, p. 579. In *RWM*, Peniarth MSS 181 and 182, the families of Dôn and Math ap Mathonwy are given as follows :

The children of Dôn of Arvon=gwydion, ssamsson, amaethon, Jdwal, evydd, hedd, Adien, elawc, Arrian Rod. (MS 181).

The children of Math ap Mathonwy=lleu llaw gyffes, dylan ail ton, blodeuwedd. (MS. 181).

The children of Dôn of Arvon=Gwydion, Govannon, Amaethon, Hünawg, Jdwal, Jenüydd, Elestron, Digant, Gyluaethwy, Kynnan, Hedd, Addien, Elawg, Arrian Rod. (MS. 182).

The forms of some of these names (e.g. *ssamsson* for *Govannon*) should remove any doubt that may linger as to the unlimited possibility of alteration not only in form but in denotation. Notice how not only Lleu Llaw Gyffes but his wife Blodeuwedd have become the children of Math! The correct form *Lleu*, instead of the usual *Llew*, is rather surprising.

<sup>63</sup> It is noteworthy that in the *Triads* (Series iii, No. 85, which series should be used with extreme caution as it bears unmistakable signs of additions by Iolo Morganwg), Gwydion is named as one of the three Cowherds of the Isle of Britain. If Gwydion, as we maintain, corresponds to Goibniu and Gavidia in Irish, then we can equate the cowherd in the Triad with the possessor of the cow Glas. See n. 79, §93.

§79. To return from the name of the Smith to his history. It will have been noticed that the *Lugh-Finn* legends are sharply divided by the different parts which they assign to the Smith. On the one hand, in the Balor stories, *B*<sub>1</sub>, *B*<sub>2</sub>, *O*, and *L*, the Smith is the owner of the cow Glas Gavlen, and prepares the spear with which Lugh kills his grandfather. On the other hand in the *Conall-Finn* legends, *C*, *F*<sub>1</sub>, *F*<sub>7</sub>, the young hero is the son of the Smith's daughter. In *F*<sub>4</sub>, and *F*<sub>9</sub>, we get yet further differences, but they agree with *BOL* in making the Smith the forger of the young hero's spear. How are these divergences to be explained? I am convinced that *C*, *F*<sub>1</sub>, *F*<sub>7</sub>, have been contaminated by a type of story in which the Smith figures as an Ogre. He has a beautiful daughter, and possesses the secret of making a magic spear or sword. The hero, in this type of tale, gains the daughter and the sword at the same time, and kills the Smith. The type is well illustrated by the following summary :

*King Olave the Second and the Great Sword Macabuinn.*<sup>64</sup>

§80. King Olave had a sword Macabuinn made by Loan Maclibhuin, the dark smith of Drontheim. For reasons that are here immaterial, the magic temper of the sword was spoilt by the king, and the smith, coming to hear of it, sent his man Hiallus-nan-Urd, Hiallus of the Hammers, who was lame of one leg, to entice the king of Norway, so that he might have his royal blood to temper a second and more wonderful sword that he was making. The king arrived at the smithy, slew the Smith with the sword he was making, and married his daughter.

§81. The points worthy of notice are :

- (1) The name of the Smith, which is the name of Cumhal's and Finn's sword, Mac-a-luin.
- (2) The preservation of the tradition of the Smith's lameness from the well-known Teutonic legend of *Wayland Smith*<sup>65</sup> but here transferred so his assistant, the hammer-man.
- (3) The king marries the Smith's daughter as in *C*, *F*<sub>1</sub>, *F*<sub>4</sub>, *F*<sub>7</sub>.

<sup>64</sup> *The Phynodderree*, pp. 63-84.

<sup>65</sup> And of course the Greek Hephaistos and the Roman Vulcanus.

§82. Two facts, at least, seem to stand clear out of the welter :

- (1) In the story of Lugh-Lleu, the spear with which he kills his grandfather is prepared by a particular Smith whose name appears in many forms, the more common of which is the late Irish Gaivnin.
- (2) Gaivnin the Smith has in most of the versions a much larger rôle than that of mere spear-maker.

### *The Smith.*

§83. What was Gaivnin's original part in the story? We have seen from the analysis of the versions given above that while there is general agreement about his part in the giant's destiny as a forger of the fatal spear, his other actions are widely divergent. In *O* he is the brother of MacKinealy, the father of Lui, and it is he who, after his brother's death, brings up his nephew; in *G* he is one of the more important enemies of Balor. In *B*<sub>1</sub>, *B*<sub>2</sub>, *O*, *L*, he is the owner of Glas Gavlen, the magic cow. In the *Conall-Finn* series, he is sometimes the father of Finn's mother (*C*, *F*<sub>1</sub>, *F*<sub>7</sub>), sometimes (*F*<sub>4</sub>, *F*<sub>9</sub>), he is the tutor of Finn himself, but he is never in *CF* associated with a magic cow. On the other hand, a duplication, namely the difficult Coban Saor, is a brother of Finn's foster-mother (*F*<sub>1</sub>, *F*<sub>3</sub>, *F*<sub>7</sub>), and takes part in the concealment and preservation of Finn. Finally, it is the theft of the Smith's cow by Balor that is the immediate cause of the meeting of Lui's father with Balor's daughter.

§84. It is possible, I think, to eliminate at once some of these different versions. Quite clearly, those accounts confined as they are to the *CF* series, which make the Smith the hero's grandfather, have travelled a long distance from the original story, and we may safely put them aside as a form of the *King Olave* theme which we have quoted from the Isle of Man.

They owe their present form to the influence of Norse folklore, where the smith plays a very important part. Weland, the Teutonic Vulcan, was the forger of all the famous weapons in the Teutonic poems, and his fame had spread all over Germany, Scandinavia, France, and England.<sup>66</sup> Further, the incident of the cow, though it seems vital to *BOL* and has indeed overshadowed a great part of Lui Lavada's history, has no correspondence in *Math*, *CF*, *G*, *T*; we may take it to be an independent legend of a mythical animal, which has become attached in some way to the Irish version. That is not to say that it is a recent addition, clumsily incorporated in an unrelated story, but simply that the original form contains a theme to which the history of the cow is not necessary. There must have been current in Ireland a legend in which a smith Gaivnin owns a cow which can supply a marvellous quantity of milk. This animal is coveted by a giant, Balor or another, and after many attempts is stolen by him. The hero would, to judge by other giant stories, recover his cow and at the same time marry the giant's daughter. Such a story would naturally become attached to another the main points of which would be the seclusion of the giant's daughter, her ultimate union with the hero's father, and the death of the giant.

Fortunately we have preserved among the Irish stories an example which fits the requirements. The following is a summary of it:<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> See Golther, *Die Wielandsaga* (*Germania*, xxxiii, p. 499 ff); S. Bugge, *The Norse Lay of Wayland and its Relation to English Tradition*, (*Saga-book of the Viking Club*, ii, 271 ff); Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, pp. 132 ff. Taking service with a smith is a regular incident in the lives of heroes; See Nutt, *FLR*, IV, p. 26. Siegfried was brought up by a smith, *Heroic Age*, p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Curtin, *HT*, p. 1 ff.

## Elin Gow.

§85. The King Under the Wave<sup>68</sup> gave the king of Spain a marvellous cow called Glas Gainach,<sup>69</sup> better than a thousand cows, with milk nearly all butter; the instructions were that the cow should not be angered in any way, otherwise she would not stay at pasture. The King of Spain had an only daughter and he was to give the cow with the daughter, that is, "the man who would do what he put on him" would get the daughter and the cow. The task was to bring the cow back safe every day for seven years. The man minding the cow had to follow her always, never go before her, or stop her, or hold her. If he did, she would run home to the castle. Every man who failed lost his head. It became known in Erin that there was such a cow, and to a smith in Cluainte, called Elin Gow, the best man in Erin to make a sword or any weapon. He dreamed three nights in succession that he was to go for Glas Gainach. He sailed from Tramor and came to Spain. There he saw a beautiful castle with a cottage before it and four men standing in front of the castle. An old man standing at the cottage door gave him a dinner on a magic cloth which was covered with food the moment it was spread. He also gave him directions how to get the cow. "You'll be as swift as you can when you go with the cow. Do not disturb her wherever she turns or walks, and do not go before her or drive her." When he came to the castle the king asked him whether he preferred to try to get the cow with swords or with herding. When Elin Gow chose herding, the king bound him to bring home the cow every night for seven years. The smith did this for seven years, and then claimed the cow.

<sup>68</sup> Common designation (*Rígh fo thuinn*) in Ireland for the King of Faery.

<sup>69</sup> Note the corruption of the name. Curtin's note is here worth producing; I suspect that it was written before he had collected B1 and B2. "*Glas Gainach*. In this name of the celebrated cow *glas* means gray; *gainach* is a corruption of *gaunach*, written *gamhnach*, which means a cow whose calf is a year old, that is, a cow without a calf that year, a farrow cow. *Gamhnach* is an adjective from *gamhan*, a yearling calf. In Donegal, *gavlen* is used instead of *gaunach*; and the best story-teller informed me that *gavlen* means a cow that has not had a calf for five years. He gave the terms for cows that have not had calves for one, two, three, four, and five years. These terms I wrote down; but unfortunately they are not accessible at present. The first in the series is *gaunach*, the last *gavlen*; the intervening ones I cannot recall." On this I can only comment that the statement that *gainach* is a corruption of *gaunach*, is typical of most popular philology, Irish and Welsh, and that the explanation of *gavlen* is a mere fabrication by the "best story-teller."

The king gave her to him, but on condition that if she came back he could not reclaim her. Elin Gow brought Glas Gainach to Cluainte, and minded her as carefully as he had done before. The fame of the cow went throughout Erin, and came to the ears of the king of Munster, who had four sons, the third being Cian. Cian did nothing all day but dream of feats of valour. His grandfather, Art Mac Cuin, was very fond of Cian. When twenty years old Cian went out to the world to try his fortune. His father gave him his sword, but at the first trial Cian broke it. "There is no sword that will please me," said Cian, "unless, while grasping the hilt with the blade pointed downward, I can bend it till its point touches my elbow on the upper side, then let it spring back till the point touches my elbow on the under side." His grandfather told him that the only man in Erin who could make a sword like that was Elin Gow, and that he did not now work in the forge because he was too busy minding the cow. Cian went to Elin Gow and promised to look after the cow while he was making the sword. "If I don't bring her in the evening," he said, "you may have my head." Next day, when Cian and Glas Gainach were five miles from Tralee, he turned her back. Immediately she jumped through the air like a bird, and went out through the sea. Cian returned to Elin Gow, who had the sword ready, and swore to bring back the cow. He went in a ship to Spain, following the same course as Elin Gow; he met the same old man, who treated him similarly. Next morning he told the king that he wanted his daughter and Glas Gainach.<sup>70</sup> The king then ordered the four knights whom both Elin Gow and Cian had seen before the castle to kill Cian, but after fighting with them all day, he cut off the heads of the four. Next day, he fought with twelve hundred men and killed them, and finally challenged all the king's forces, and killed them. All this time he was being entertained by the old man of the cottage. The king next gave him a task of eating all the butter in the kingdom in one night, and tanning all the hides in four hours. With the help of the old man, who was a magician, Cian performed the task. Finally, he was given this task,—“My daughter will throw out a ball through the window, and you must keep that ball in the air for two hours and a half, and then drive it in through the same window.” This task also he performed, with the wizard's help. Cian and the king's daughter were married, and their son was called Cormac after his grandfather, Cormac mac Art. When Cormac was a year and a half old, they brought the cow back to Elin Gow, landing at Tramor. On the highway from Tramor to Cluainte were three brothers, robbers, who knew all kinds of magic and had a rod of enchantment.

<sup>70</sup> Elin Gow, according to the arrangement, should have had the king's daughter.

They invited Cian to play a game, and won all his gold and the cow, which he had laid as a wager. One of the three robbers struck Cian and the cow with the rod of enchantment, and made a stone pillar of him, and an earth-mound of Glas Gainach. Cian's son grew to manhood in Spain, and went to Erin to seek his father. He found the robbers between Tramor and Cluainte, and they invited him to a game, and won all his gold. Cormac then caught them in his hands and threatened to knock their heads off unless they told him what had happened to his father. He thus got from them the rod of enchantment, and struck the pillar and earth-mound, and restored his father and the cow. The two took Glas Gainach to Elin Gow who was supporting himself by making swords and weapons. When Elin Gow grew old, the cow escaped from him and returned to Spain.

§86. The magic cow is also known in Wales, and an account of it is given in the justly suspected *Iolo MSS.* However, as Iolo Morganwg must have got his account from somewhere, I give a translation of it here :

*The Milk-White Milch Cow.<sup>71</sup>*

(Y Fwch Laethwen Lefrith.)

The milk-white milch cow gave milk enough to everyone who desired it, and for all she was milked, and whatever the number of those that milked her, there was never a deficiency. The man who drank her milk was cured of every disease, and he who was a fool became wise, and he who was wicked became happy (*ag o ddiriaid e elai'n ddedydd*). She travelled round the world, and wherever she went she filled with her milk all the vessels that could be found, leaving calves behind her for all the wise and the happy, and it was from her that all the milch cows in the world were gotten. After traversing the whole island of Britain, for the blessing and benefit of the country and nation, she came to Ystrad Tywi, where, on account of her beauty and splendour, the men of that country sought to kill and eat her, and just as they were about to deliver the blow to kill her, she vanished from between their hands and was never seen again. And to this day there is a house in that place called "*Y Fwch Laethwen Lefrith*."

<sup>71</sup> *Iolo MSS*, p. 85.



Another version of the same story is given by Isaac Foulkes (Llyfrbryf).<sup>72</sup> It will be noticed, on comparing this with the account of the journey of Glas Gavlen, that a main characteristic of the legend is its onomastic features. In my remarks on this subject (§§ 303 ff.) I have noticed one class of onomastic tales where the names are at least as old as the story ; it is to this class that the onomastic parts of the Glas Gavlen and of this legend belong. The following is a translated summary of part of Foulkes's paper :

The source of the river Clwyd is called Bronbannog, near the pastures of *Buwch Frech Hiraethog*, " the Spotted Cow of Hiraethog." The poor from all parts of the country used to milk this cow, and she supplied everyone ungrudgingly with the most excellent milk. But a jealous old crone came one day and milked the cow with a sieve, " and the milk ran through it on to the earth, so that there was no hope of ever filling the vessel." [We have here a contamination of the Vessel-that-cannot-be-filled theme.] The Spotted Cow was offended and disappeared, so that she has never been seen to this day, but the names in the district keep alive the old tradition, namely *Efynnon y Fwch Frech*, " the well of the Spotted Cow " ; the remains of stonework called *Preseb y Fwch Frech*, " the Manger of the Spotted Cow " ; and leading from that spot an old road called *Llawyr y Fwch Frech*, " the Path of the Spotted Cow."<sup>73</sup>

§87. It seems almost impossible to believe that the story of *Elin Gow* can have at any time contained the Balor legend, which is obviously a more interesting, and therefore more memorable incident, than the history of the cow as given here. On the other hand, one form of the Lugh legend must have affected *Elin Gow*, namely that contained in *T*, if indeed the stories are not descended from a common source. *T*, it will be remembered, is concerned with the death of Cian, who is attacked by three brothers whom he meets on his way.

<sup>72</sup> *THSC*, 1892-3, pp. 88-9.

<sup>73</sup> The legend of the cow the milk of which supported the whole country is widely diffused, and a variant of it, corresponding in all details except the onomastic portions to Llyfrbryf's account, is found in Shropshire. See the chapter on the " White Cow of Mitchell's Fold " in Georgina Jackson's *Shropshire Folk-Lore* (London, 1883), pp. 39-43.

Cian transforms himself by magic into the shape of one of the swine. One of the three brothers strikes the other two with a magic wand and transforms them into hounds, and so Cian in the form of a pig is slain. The rest of the tale is concerned with Lugh's vengeance on his father's murderers, and contains the mysterious statement that Lugh demanded "the return of the milch cows of Ireland." *T*, then, is partly the story of Elin Gow, with the Smith left out.

§88. We now have several combinations of the quadruple theme. (1) *BOL* : King Balor + Lugh's vengeance + the Smith + the Magic Cow. (2) *T* : Balor + Lugh's vengeance + (by implication) the Magic Cow, but without the Smith. (3) *Elin Gow* : the Smith + the Magic Cow + Cian's son's vengeance (in a disguised form) but without Balor. (4) *Math* : the King + Lleu's vengeance (in a disguised form) + the Smith (in a minor part), without the Magic Cow.

§89. Out of the confusion we have discerned one fact that is fairly certain in all the versions,—Lugh's father and Lugh himself are associated with a helping Smith, who also, traditionally, was the owner of a Magic Cow. The Smith not only forges Lugh's spear, but is at least the occasion of bringing together Lugh's father and mother. Further, in the Finn stories, the Smith helps to conceal Finn, and in *O* brings up Lugh and generally takes charge of his destiny. In *O*, which version is dignified by the name of history, the smith Gavida is a brother to MacKinealy, Lugh's father, and has another brother MacSamthainn whose place in the story is more obscure. In many of the *F* versions, the Smith is the brother of Finn's nurse. Add to this the fact that a distinguishing mark of nearly all the versions, whether they be Lugh's history or Lleu's or Conall's or Finn's, is the presence of an association of three brothers at some point or other in the tale.

*The Three Brothers in Legend.*

§90. The position and functions of the three brothers may best be understood if we tabulate their history according to the different versions in which they occur, beginning with the simpler forms :

*O.*

The three brothers are Gavida, Mac Samthainn, MacKinealy. MacKinealy is the father of Lugh, Mac Samthainn holds the cow's halter, Gavida brings up Lugh, and, after Balor has killed MacKinealy, becomes Balor's smith and takes Lugh with him to Balor's house, thus enabling him to slay Balor.

*B1.*

Cean faeligh (Kinealy) has three sons, Duv, Donn and Fin (Finn), who go to Gavidin to have three swords forged. They hold the cow's halter in turn, but when Finn's turn came, the cow is stolen from him by Balor's agents. Finn becomes Lugh's father when he is searching for the cow. He is aided and abetted by Gial Duv.

*B2.*

Geali Dianvir son of the king of the Firbolgs goes to Ireland to avenge himself on Balor. In Ireland, he comes across three brothers fighting as to who should reign. Dianvir settles the quarrel, but the younger of the three brothers persuades the others to kill Dianvir. Dianvir's mother hastens to Ireland to avenge her son's death, but "when she came to Ireland it was the sons of Balor that she had against her." The queen has six sons besides Geali Dianvir, and they each in turn hold the halter of Glas Gownach while Gaivnin Gow the smith tempers their spears, and lose her to Balor. Four of the remaining six sons are killed, and of the other two one, Cian, said to his brother that they should get back the cow. They are helped by a druid Bark an Tra. Cian becomes Lugh's father.

*G.*

Lug Lamfada is the brother of the Dagda and of Ogma. The three plot with Goibniu and Dian Cecht the leech against the oppressors of the family of Danu. Lug seeks the help of the three gods of Danu,—Brian, Iuchar and Iucharba.

*T.*

The three sons of Cainte are Cu, Ceithen and Cian. Cian going north on Lugh's business meets the three sons of Tuireann,—Brian, Iucharba and Iuchair, who slay Cian, who is the father of Lugh.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> This version is incredibly incoherent, but Lugh's relation to Cian is made clear on p. 15 of *OCT*.

## C.

The king of Erin's sister had three sons,—Fergus, Lugh an Laidh, and Conall. The hero-son, Conall, is the son of the King of Erin.

§91. It would be well to state at once that I have no clear idea of the significance of the three brothers in the different versions, nor can I account for the extraordinary divergences which are apparent in them. The *G* and *T* versions show how difficult it is to make any satisfactory collation of all the forms, because, while they clearly make one group by themselves, excluding as they do most of the significant portions of *BOL*, *CF*, and *Math*, yet on one of the points which go together to form a *GT* group, namely the Three Brothers, they are widely apart. They agree on the names, Brian, Iuchar, and Iucharba, but on the history of the persons denoted by the names they differ radically. In *G* they are the gods of the tribe of Danu, who help Lugh; in *T* they are the enemies of Lugh's father. From which two facts, we are justified in concluding that, as we have many times before stated, the names in these Celtic tales bear no constant relation or indeed any relation at all to the persons whom they originally distinguished.

§92. Taking the different versions, however, for what they are worth, the student has the conclusion forced upon him that the original theme contained three brothers who were helpful to the hero.<sup>75</sup> In *G*, they are the "three gods" of the tribe of Danu; in *O* one of them is Lugh's father, and the other two his uncles; in *B1*, likewise, except that the Smith is not one of the three; in *B2* they seem to be enemies of Lugh's family; in *T* they are definitely stated to be enemies. Of all these versions *O* and *B1* alone give a logical and understandable account of the three. *B2*, as we have seen, is almost hopelessly mixed, and *T* is flatly contradicted by its twin

<sup>75</sup> The three brothers seem to be an essential feature of a rape story. When Naos took Deirdre away, he was helped by his two brothers against the King who wished her for himself.

version G. If then, *faute de mieux*, we reject the accounts of B2 and T, we have to accept a trinity of brothers, one of whom becomes Lugh's father, and the other two become aiders and allies of the father. The remaining question—was the smith Goibniu or Gavida one of the brothers?—seems to me with our present data impossible of solution. On the one hand, one type, of which B1 is the best representative, describes the Smith merely as the owner of the magic cow, and the forger of the spears; on the other hand, O definitely names him among the brothers.

*The Three Brothers in Math.*<sup>76</sup>

§93. A very brief consideration of *Math* will show a great incoherence in the story as to the names and positions of the three brothers. First of all, we read that Math could not

<sup>76</sup> When this book was ready for the press, I received the first number of *Bealoideas*, the Journal of the Folk-lore of Ireland Society, which contains an illuminating article by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister on the *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann*, in which he deals with the question of the Three Brothers. He maintains that "the group supernatural-father-plus-twin-sons sometimes develops into a group of three brethren. This no doubt is what has happened here. Brian was the original *father* of the twins Iuchar and Iucharba. . . ."

"A remarkable feature of the twin-cult, is the fact that the twins are frequently provided with a sister, who is usually in the back-ground and does not specially distinguish herself in any way. Rendel Harris has suggested that she may be the original mother of the twins, who has become otiose by the wearing-down of the tradition. Be that as it may, we find Castor and Pollux accompanied by their sister Helen; the Aśvins, the Indian representatives of the Dioscuri, accompanied by the maiden Surya; and when we read a little further in the story of the 'Children of Tuireann,' we are pleased to make the acquaintance of the Irish twins' superfluous sister, in the person of Eithne. If we did not know of the analogies quoted—to which others might be added—we could not account for the presence of this lady; as it is, she fits neatly into her place like the missing piece of a picture puzzle. The names of the four Cabiri of Samothrace present a precisely analogous construction to those of the four children of Tuireann—

*compare* Brian, Iuchar, Iucharba, Eithne  
*with* Kasmilos, Axieros, Axiokersos, Axiokersa."

It may be added that Arianrhod, in this version the daughter of Dôn and the mother of Lleu, corresponds exactly to Eithne, mother of Lugh.

make the customary royal circuit of his country, and that therefore his nephews Gilvaethwy son of Dôn and Eveydd son of Dôn had to do his duty for him. Yet in the very next sentence a third nephew Gwydion is introduced, who was not mentioned before, and we are left to wonder what Eveydd is doing in the tale, as he is not afterwards mentioned, nor is there any tradition in Welsh literature connecting Eveydd<sup>77</sup> with the family of Dôn as a brother of Gwydion and Gilvaethwy. We have therefore Gilvaethwy, Gwydion, Eveydd, as three brothers, one of whom, Gilvaethwy, becomes the father of Llew and the other Gwydion becomes the helper if we regard Llew as being originally the son of Goewin; or Gwydion becomes the father if we regard Llew as the son of Arianrhod. But a further perplexity is added by the later mention of Govannon son of Dôn. If, however, my suggestion<sup>78</sup> is right that Govannon and Gwydion are doublets, then we still have, as far as *Math* is concerned, the three sons of Dôn,—Gilvaethwy, Eveydd, and Govannon-Gwydion corresponding to the three brothers MacKinealy, Mac Samthainn and Gavidia of *O*, or Duv, Donn and Finn, the sons of Ceanfealigh of *BI*.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> He is probably the Euuyd (=Euvydd) of *BT*. p. 68, l. 14, where he is named with Math. I cannot even attempt to translate this verse.

<sup>78</sup> See §78.

<sup>79</sup> An interesting line of research is suggested here—the folklore and folk-story versions of the ruling uncle and the three nephews. Such a group is clearly indicated in *C*. I am inclined to think that Amaethon (?=Samthain, which, with mutated *s*, is heard as Amthain), may be the original third, and that Hyveidd, who is otherwise known in *Pwyll* as the father of Rhiannon, may have been introduced into a version from which Amaethon had dropped out. I am also inclined to suggest the following equations, (they involve, on the whole, less difficulties than some other equations of which we are certain) :

<i>Cean faeligh</i>	= <i>Cilvaethwy</i> , a form which occurs in the text.
( <i>mac</i> ) <i>Samthain</i>	= <i>Amaethon</i> .
<i>Gavidia</i>	= <i>Gwydion</i> .

*Goban Saor and his Box.*

§94. It will have been noticed that the *F* versions are peculiar in their insistence on two points, viz., (1) the position of the Smith, and (2) the rearing of Finn by a foster-mother whose brother is Goban Saor. The first point we have already partly dealt with, and may have to return to later ; the second is of some importance to the *Math* version. The general type which underlies the Goban Saor theme in *F* is not difficult to reconstruct. The evidence clearly points to the existence of a nurse, Luas Lurgann, who snatches away the infant at birth, and who brings him up by the help of the artificer, Goban Saor, her brother, whose activities in these versions seem to be confined to the making of a box or some cunningly contrived hiding place for the child, to conceal him during the period of his helpless infancy. This portion of the tale seems to be an integral part of *F*, whatever may be its real significance. It also appears in *Math*, where the order of the incidents is reversed. It is Gwydion here who snatches away the "small thing" that Arianrhod has left behind, and keeps him in a coffer, which becomes a kind of incubator for the child, and afterwards seeks a "woman with breasts" to rear the child. What then is the exact connection of the *Math* versions of the birth and fostering with the general body of the Lugh-Finn stories ?





PART III.

*MATH AS A VARIANT OF THE  
KING AND HIS PROPHESED DEATH*

§95. Before we can proceed further with our inquiry, it will be necessary to study in greater detail the mabinogi of *Math* as a variant of the *King and his prophesied Death*; the key to *Math* is the position in that story of the Helping Druid. We have now seen what the general plan of Llew Llaw Gyffes's story was in its original form. The rest of our research must be devoted to disentangling the ends of the thread from the other story which is, in the whole complex of *Math*, almost as important as that of Llew,—namely, *The Unfaithful Wife*, or to give it a name from the particular form which it assumes here, *Blodeuwedd*. First of all, however, we must find in what respects the *Math* version of Llew Llaw Gyffes's history is deficient in some of its vital portions; that is to say, ascertain what parts of the original story have been omitted, so as to be in a position to deal later with the additions. It will be convenient also to mention here those interchanges which seem to have taken place within the *Llew* portion of *Math* itself.

### *Math vab Mathonwy and the King.*

§96. We have already observed that the rôle of *Math vab Mathonwy* appears, even after a cursory perusal, complicated and illogical. His name heads this branch of the mabinogi, but he plays a very secondary part in it :

- (1) He is the King of Gwynedd, and uncle to Gwydion and Arianrhod and their brothers.
- (2) He has a foot-holder whose virginity is his constant concern.
- (3) He is deceived by Gwydion into making war on Dyved so that Gwydion may have him out of the way, yet it is Gwydion himself who leads the men of Gwynedd and not *Math*.
- (4) "*Math saw the placing of Gilvaethwy and Goewin to sleep together.*"
- (5) He punishes Gwydion

and Gilvaethwy for the rape of Goewin, by changing them, by means of his magic wand, into animals. (6) He has a peculiarity—"What ever whispering there be between men, however small it be, if the wind meets it, he will know it." (7) He demonstrates, by means of his magic wand, that Arianrhod is not a virgin, and so brings about the birth of Dylan and Llew. (8) Math and Gwydion "by their magic and enchantment" make Blodeuwedd from flowers. (9) He shows his further interest in Llew by bestowing territory upon him. (10) He is troubled by the disappearance of Llew,—“Math took sorrow and grief within him.” (11) When Llew is restored to his own form, he goes to Math for sympathy.

§97. It will be noticed that it is only in two of the eleven instances that he appears as the enemy of Gwydion, and that nowhere is he described as the enemy of Llew himself. Further, it is precisely in those two, and in those only, that he is the king who is concerned with keeping his foot-holder a virgin. In other words, he plays the part of Balor for the first part of the story only, and thereafter appears as the Helping Magician, while the rest of the Balor story is distributed among the other characters, the swearing of the destinies being allotted to Arianrhod, and the “death” by means of the magic spear to Gronwy Pevr. His rôle of shape-shifter and magician overshadows his other rôle of King of Gwynedd.

§98. In Welsh literature outside the *Mabinogion* he is known as a magician. Dafydd ap Gwilym (fl. 1360) mentions him as one of the three magicians: “The first was Menw (oh, most gentle one), and the second was Eiddilic the Dwarf, a crafty Irishman; the third was *Maeth* with his over-great

designs before the ramparts of Môn, the king of Arvon.”<sup>80</sup> In the triads also he is “one of the magicians” of the Island of Britain, and teaches his magic to Gwydion. “The three chief magics of the Island of Britain, the magic of Mat[h] son of Mathonwy who taught [it] to Gwydion son of Dôn, and the magic of Uthur Pendragon who taught [it] to Menw son of Teirgwaedd, and the third magic did Rhuddlwm the Dwarf teach to Coll son of Collvrewi his nephew.”<sup>81</sup> In *BT* he is associated with Gwydion and described as “skilful in enchantment of trees”<sup>82</sup> and in *RBP* he is called “*Math hen*” and named in conjunction with Govannon and others among the magicians.<sup>83</sup> In another poem, Taliesin describes himself as being made by Math’s magic, and “by magicians, like Math.”<sup>84</sup> In the same book mention is made of “Mathonwy’s magic wand, growing in the woods.”<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *Cyntaf, addfwynaf, oedd Fenw,  
A'r ail, . . .  
Eiddilic Cor, Wyddel call;  
Trydydd oedd ger muroedd Mon,  
Maeth, rhwy' arfaeth rhi Arfon.*

*Barddoniaeth D. ap Gwilym*, p. 207. The text of this edition is, unfortunately, very unsatisfactory, and it is difficult to explain *Maeth* for *Math*. The *cynganedd*, however, shows that it is *Maeth*, if we can rely on the reading. Dafydd ap Gwilym here is quoting the “Triad of the Three Magicians.”

<sup>81</sup> *RB*, Triads, p. 302 (= *MA*, 390b, No. 31 = *MA*, 409, No. 90). *Teir prif hut ynys brydein. hut mat[h] uab mathonwy. a dysgarwd y wydyon uab don. a hut uthur penndragon. a dysgarwd y uenw uab teirgwaed. ar dryded hut rudlwm gorr a dysgarwd (a dysgarwd) y goll uab collurewy y nei.* The Hengwrt Triads (*FAB*, ii, 460) has for the third, *Hut Gwyddelyn Gorr*—“the magic of the Gwyddelyn Gorr (‘The dwarf Irishman’).” This is the form of the triad which Dafydd ap Gwilym quotes.

<sup>82</sup> *Math ac euuyd. Hutwyt gelwyd*, where *hutwyt* is probably for *hutwyd*. *BT*, 68. *FAB*, ii. 200.

<sup>83</sup> *neubum gan wyr kelyudon. gan uath hen gan gouannon*, *RBP*, 20 : *FAB*, ii. 303.

<sup>84</sup> *am sawynaws i vath. kyn bum diaeret . . . arthawon* (for *athrawon*) *ail math pan ymdygyaed*. *BT*, 25-6 ; *FAB*. ii. 142.

<sup>85</sup> *hutlath mathonwy. yg koet pan tyfaw*. *BT*, 28-9 ; *FAB*, ii. 147.

§99. The above references, obscure as they are in many respects, are perfectly clear on one point,—Math was a magician and a shape-shifter. He even belongs to the company of the other-world sorcerers like Llwyd vab Cilcoed in *Manawydan*, because no word that the wind meets is unknown to him. So also the *Coraniaid* whose “knowledge was so great that there was no speaking anywhere on the island, however low it was said, if the wind met it that they did not know,”<sup>86</sup> and the Fairies of Snowdon, who were “sharp of hearing, and no word that reached the wind would escape them.”<sup>87</sup> All this is very Goidelic, as in Ireland the magician under the name of *druí*, “druid”<sup>88</sup> played a very important rôle in all the tales; indeed a great part of the Patrick legend is a fight against these “druids.”<sup>89</sup> We should therefore expect to find in the Lugh legend of Ireland some reference to a druid playing a part at least comparable to that of Math in the mabinogi. In *B2* Cian, seeking Balor’s daughter, is helped by the druid Bark an Tra; in *O* this “druid and fairy” is called Biroge of the Mountain; in *L* none less than Mananaun himself is the Helping Druid; in *B1* Gial Duv or “Black Jaw”; and finally in *G*, where names seem to be carefully and exactly given, we find that *the druid was named Mathgen*.

<sup>86</sup> *RB*, 94. It is important to note that the word *Coraniaid* was still existent at the beginning of the 19th century, and was then applied to heathens by the hymnologist Ann Griffiths:

*Caiff Hottentots, Goraniaid dua ei lliw,  
Farbaraidd lu, ei dwyn i deulu Duw.*

“Hottentots, *Coroniaid* of darkest hue, a barbarous host, shall be brought into God’s family.” Thomas Charles, the editor of these hymns, did not understand the word and changed it into “*Coroniaid*,” whatever that might mean. See *Llenor*, iii, p. 128. See also note 34, §109.

<sup>87</sup> Letter of Sir John Rhŷs quoted in Wentz, *Fairy Faith*, p. 137.

<sup>88</sup> *Druí* was the regular Irish translation of *magus*, and is still used in that sense, as, for instance, in *Acts* xiii, 6 (B. and FS. Bible).

<sup>89</sup> Czarnowski, *S. Patrick*, p. 58.

§100. Now *Mathgen* belongs to a well-known order of personal names which denote origin from, or deriving from, animals; the Gaulish *Artogenos*,<sup>90</sup> "son of the bear," and *Matugenos*,<sup>91</sup> "son of the bear," are examples. The former appears in Welsh as *Arthien*, and in Irish, according to Joyce, as *Artigan*. The latter does not appear in a Welsh form, which however would be *Madien* if it were found. The Irish *Mathgen*,<sup>92</sup> if borrowed into Welsh, would be written in Old Welsh *Mathgen*, and in Medieval Welsh *Mathyen* or *Mathien*. It will by this time be clear that the name *Math* is a corruption of *Mathien*, which actually occurs, as we have already seen, in the *Red Book of Hergest* as *Math hen* "Math the old" a natural misreading by a Welshman ignorant of the Irish name<sup>93</sup>. Further, we have traces elsewhere of the full form of his name, and it is significant that in popular tradition, it is only preserved in this full form. In the article<sup>94</sup> on Clynnog, the parish in which part of the action of *Math* takes place we find in a topographical dictionary of the last century the following account of the battle of Bron yr Erw :

"Here Prince Gruffydd ab Cynan made his first attempt to regain the Principality. . . Gruffydd was helped at this time by Encumallon, Ranallt, and *Mathon*, three Irish chieftains; and it is a curious coincidence that the name of the last chieftain, *Mathon*, is the first on record in the pedigree of Pryscyni as the founder of that family."

This battle of Bron yr Erw was fought in 1075, but the legendary character of *Mathon* is sufficiently indicated by the Pryscyni pedigree<sup>94</sup> which is "Lewis ap Gwen verch Morgan ab Risiart ab John ab Hywel ab Mathon." Now Lewis died

<sup>90</sup> *La langue galloise*, p. 93; *Les druides*, p. 159.

<sup>91</sup> *La langue galloise*, p. 93; *Les druides*, 161.

<sup>92</sup> Celtic intervocalic *t* gives *th* in Irish and *d* in Welsh.

<sup>93</sup> See n. 61, §78.

<sup>94</sup> *Cymru* I, p. 322; *Cyff Beuno*, p. 89.

in 1679, so we have only seven generations in six hundred years ! I can find no record of Gruffudd ab Cynan's Irish allies, but *Ranallt* perhaps stands for *Rhainallt*, the name of the mother and daughter of Gruffudd ab Cynan, derived through an intermediate Irish form from the Norse *Ragnhildr*.<sup>95</sup> Or, as is more probable, the immediate cause of the inclusion of *Ranallt* and *Mathon* was the name of Gruffudd's half brother, *Ragnall* son of *Mathgamhain*.<sup>96</sup>

§101. It seems then that even on the evidence supplied by the comparison of the Welsh and Irish names, *Math* in its longer form *Math hen* or *Mathon*, for *Mathien*, and by the name and position of the Helping Druid in *B2* and *M*, we must accept the conclusion that Math in the mabinogi has been promoted from Druid to King. But another piece of evidence is fortunately preserved which places the matter beyond all reasonable doubt, namely the curious and hitherto inexplicable phrase in *RB*, p. 63, ll. 15-20 ; *WB*, p. 44a, ll. 7-14, (p. 8, ll. 26-8 of the Text, and p. 9, ll. 26-9 of the Translation): "Ar nos honno ydymchoes<sup>97</sup> gwydyon uab don a chiluaethwy<sup>98</sup> y urawt hyt ygkaer dathyl. ac y gwelei uath uab mathonwy<sup>99</sup> dodi giluaethwy<sup>200</sup> a goewin<sup>1</sup> y gyt gyscu. a chymell y morynon ereill<sup>2</sup> allan yn amharchus. a chyscu genti oes hanuod y nos honno." "And that night Gwydion son of Dôn and Gilvaethwy his brother returned to Caer Dathal, and Math son of Mathonwy saw the placing of Gilvaethwy and Goewin to sleep together, and the other maidens despitely driven out, and she was slept with in her despite that night."

<sup>95</sup> *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, 103, 141; Lloyd, *History of Wales*, 371.

<sup>96</sup> *History of G. ap C.*, 108.

<sup>97</sup> ymhwelwys, *WB*. <sup>98</sup> chiluaethwy, *WB*.

<sup>99</sup> mathonwy, *WB*. <sup>200</sup> giluaethwy, *WB*. <sup>1</sup> goewyn, *WB*. <sup>2</sup> *WB* omits *ereill*. <sup>3</sup> oy, *WB*.

§102. This curious statement about Math has puzzled both Professor Loth, and Professor Ifor Williams in his edition of the *Four Branches*. Professor Loth translates “dans le lit de Math” by amending *ac y gwelei* to *ac yg gwely*, despite the mutated initial which follows and which makes the emendation impossible, thus following Lady Charlotte Guest’s mis-translation. Professor Williams takes the bull by the horns and boldly substitutes *wydion* for *uath uab mathonwy*, indicating the manuscript reading in a footnote. That is to say, *he has made the very change which the redactor should have made had he remembered to alter his original* in accordance with the change which had taken place in Math’s position. In the *cyvarwyddyd* on which he was basing his version, the Helping Druid was throughout Math or Mathien. The redactor shifted Math’s position, probably because a separate tradition, attested by the old poems, regarded Math as the King of Gwynedd, or at least of Arvon; and since Llew’s grandfather was probably described as King of Gwynedd, it was natural to make Math that King.<sup>4</sup> This was successfully accomplished throughout the tale, but, as not unusually, this one instance was left by the forgetfulness of the writer as a valuable clue to the change which he had everywhere else made.<sup>5</sup>

§103. Speculation as to his father’s (or mother’s) name, *Mathonwy*, must be largely a matter of conjecture. It has been already suggested by Professor Zimmer<sup>6</sup> that it is an adaptation of the Irish name *Mathgamnai*, which is now anglicised *Mahony*. In the Irish Bible, as de Jubainville

<sup>4</sup> The magician is generally king in primitive communities. See *Golden Bough*, I, pp. 244 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The name *Math* is found in a historical document as the name of a Welshman after whom, according to custom, a certain holding of land was called, viz., the *gafael* of Math [ap Elidir] in the ringildry of Ruabon. *History of Ancient Tenures*, p. 49. But it may be one of the usual contractions.

<sup>6</sup> *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1890), p. 512.



points out,<sup>7</sup> the Hebrew *dôb*, "bear," is translated *mis.* to say, the which literally means a "bear cub."<sup>8</sup> Whether there is connection between these words and *Mathonwy* it is difficult to say, but it seems more likely that we have here a well-known naming formula common to both Irish and Welsh legendary names, wherein the patronymic is the first name itself repeated with the addition of a more or less intelligible termination. Such names are *Drem vab Dremidydd*,<sup>9</sup> "Look son of Looker (?)" ; *Sugyn vab Sucnedydd*,<sup>10</sup> "Suck son of Sucker" ; *Brys vab Brysethach*, "Haste son of Hasting(?)," the termination of whose name betrays his Irish origin ; *Clust vab Clustveinat*, "Ear son of Listener," *Medyr vab Methredydd*,<sup>11</sup> "Aim son of Aimer" ; *Ol vab Olwyd*, "Trace son of Tracer" ; and in Irish such a list as that given by Curtin,<sup>12</sup> e.g., "Wise son of Wisdom." We may then translate *Math[ien] vab Mathonwy* as "Bear[kin] son of Bearling," and equate his name with those curious nomenclatures already mentioned. In that case *Mathonwy* is merely a folklore patronymic, and does not represent Math's father's name.<sup>13</sup> This is not disproved by the fact that *Mathonwy* has an independent existence in the old poetry. In a curious poem called *Daronwy*,<sup>14</sup> the poet

<sup>7</sup> *Les druides*, 150.

<sup>8</sup> II Samuel, xvii, 8. <sup>9</sup> RB, 109. <sup>10</sup> RB 111.

<sup>11</sup> RB, 112. Here we have a certain proof of Irish origin. *Methredydd* is not Welsh but Irish, from *midithir*, "judges, aims."

<sup>12</sup> *Myths and Folklore*, 270.

<sup>13</sup> A curious genealogy of Syrigi the Irishman, who is also mentioned in *Culhwch*, is given in the *Iolo MSS*, p. 81: "Syrigi Wyddel ab Mwrchan, ap Eurnach hen ap Eilo ap Rhehegyr ap Cathbalug, ap Cathal, ap Machno, ap Einion, ap Celert, ap Math, ap Mathonwy ap Trathol ap Gwydion ap Dôn, King of Môn and Arfon, &c." The *Iolo MSS* should be used with the greatest circumspection, as a part of them is undoubtedly forged. In the above list, both *Cathal* and *Trathol* are probably errors for *Tathal* of *Caer Dathal*; and the erroneous *Cathal* has led a later copyist, perhaps Iolo himself, to add the absurd *Cathbalug*, the *Chat Palu* of the French romances.

<sup>14</sup> BT, 28-9. FAB, ii, 147.

§102. ~~Now~~ there are who know where the magic wand of ~~bo~~ Mathonwy grows in the woods."<sup>15</sup> It is quite possible that *Mathonwy* here stands for Math himself, as there is no mention of him in the poem, and Mathonwy like Math in the mabinogi is distinguished as the possessor of a magic wand. In any case, the poem is probably later than the substantive form of the mabinogi, as it contains the word *kymry* ("Welshmen,") which is not found in the *Four Branches*, where the Welsh are called either "the men of the Island of the Mighty," or simply "the men of Dyved" or "Gwynedd," as the case may be. The collocation of *Math* and *Mathonwy* may indeed have been helped by a knowledge of the name *Mathgamhain* which, as we have seen, appears in the form *Mathgawyn*<sup>16</sup> as the name of Gruffudd ap Cynan's half-brother's father. Some such name was very possibly that of one of the forgotten Irish kings of the Welsh Leinstermen in Llein.

§104. We have now seen that Math's position in the mabinogi is very different from that in the original story of Llew on which the mabinogi was based. He has, after ceasing to be the Helping Druid, become the Grandfather, the King or Giant whose life is menaced, thereby ousting another from that position. Who, then, in the original legend, was the person whose life was threatened by his grandson Llew?

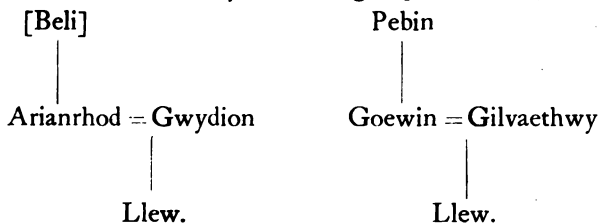
### *Pebin and Beli.*

§105. The débris of more ancient versions lie thickly on *Math*, and there are indications that at least two persons have occupied that position at one time or another in the history of the legend, and that the actual name depended on which of the two foot-holders, Goewin or Arianrhod, was described as the mother of Llew. It will be recollected that it was Goewin who was "slept with in her despite," but that it

<sup>15</sup> odit ae gwypwy. hutlath vathonwy. yg koet pan tyfwy.

<sup>16</sup> *Life of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, p. 108.

was Arianrhod who gave birth to Llew ; that is to say, the *compert*<sup>17</sup> or conception-story of Llew has been divided between two women, one conceiving him, and the other giving birth to him. In other words, his mother is divided into two persons, Goewin daughter of Pebin, and Arianrhod who was the daughter of Dôn according to *Math*, but according to all other Welsh traditions, daughter of Beli, with whom we shall deal by and by. Likewise while Goewin is paired with Gilvaethwy, Arianrhod is paired with Gwydion. The relations of Llew then fall into two entirely different groups of names, thus :

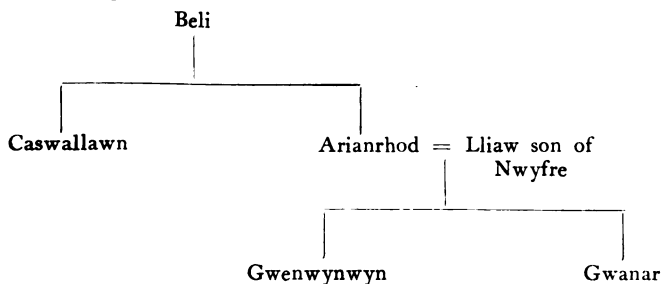


*Beli.*

§106. First of all as to Beli. He is mentioned as the father of Arianrhod in one of the *RB. Triads*.<sup>18</sup> This particular

<sup>17</sup> The *compert* was a particular type of Irish story which dealt with the begetting of the hero.

<sup>18</sup> The pedigree seems to be as follows :



Here Arianrhod is the wife of Lliaw, a name which probably stands for Llew. For the reason why Arianrhod daughter of Dôn appears in *Math* as the daughter of Dôn, see §73.

series of Triads is comparatively late in its present form, but it bears signs of antiquity and of the influence of legends distinctly Irish. In other connections, Beli the Great (Beli Mawr), or Beli the Long (Beli Hir) is one of the most famous legendary kings of Britain, and his name occurs in the pedigrees, where he is described as the son of Anna.<sup>19</sup> We can with the help of another reference in the *Elucidarium*<sup>20</sup> take his name back a stage further ; it is there written, as we should expect, *Belim*, which was the old Welsh spelling of what was pronounced *Beliv*.<sup>21</sup> In the *Brut*, the name *Beli* is used as the Welsh equivalent of the Latin *Bellinus* of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Gesta Regum*. Whether *Bellinus* is Geoffrey's attempt to latinise a name *Beli* which was already well-known in Welsh legend, or *Beli* represents a device to get a plausible Welsh name for *Bellinus*,<sup>22</sup> it is hard to decide, but we may take it that *Beli* as the legendary name of a British king is older than the *Gesta Regum*. Professor Zimmer thought that he had disposed of him by proving that "Beli son of Mynogan," well-known among British heroes, and his Latin original "Bellinus son of Minocannus" were due to a blunder in Orosius which resulted in Suetonius's *Adminio*, *Cynobellini*, . . . *filio* being read and copied as [*Ad*] *Minocynobellinum* . . . *filium*.<sup>23</sup> What this brilliant reconstruction has done is not at all to destroy Beli himself, but merely to show that his father *Mynogan* is a "ghost" name, and that, incidentally, no more credence can be given to the authenticity of proper names occurring in the Mabinogion than to that of Geoffrey of Monmouth's names and their Welsh equivalents in the *Brut*.

<sup>19</sup> *Cymmrodor*, IX, 170.

<sup>20</sup> *Elucidarium*, 127. .

<sup>21</sup> Cf. OW., *molim* (= *moliv*) = Mod. W., *moli*.

<sup>22</sup> Like *Gweirydd* for *Arviragus*, &c. It is to be noticed that the *Bellinus* of Nennius's *Historia*, which antedates Geoffrey, does appear in Welsh as *Beli*.

<sup>23</sup> *Nennius Vindictus*, pp. 271-2.

§107. Rhŷs equates Beli with the Irish *Bile*, and the correspondence between the Beli of the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Bile* of the *Annals of Ulster* makes this identification certain.<sup>24</sup> Rhŷs, however, goes further and identifies Beli with the Irish Balor, though he does not claim to prove their etymological equivalence.<sup>25</sup> Whether such an equivalence exists is beside the point; what concerns us here is that there already existed in Welsh legend a name which was near enough in sound to that of the Irish *Balor* to suggest that the Balor of the original Irish tale should appear in Welsh as Beli. De Jubainville equates the name *Balor* with *Belleros*, the first element of the Greek *Bellerophon*, for *Bellerophontes*, "the slayer of Belleros." "*Belleros* is the same name as *Balor*, the god of the Fomorians, slain by Lug at the battle of Mag-Tured. *Belleros* in Greek comes from the same root as the verb *ballo*, 'I hurl,' and the substantive *belos*, 'a dart or javelin.'"<sup>26</sup> It will be remembered that Balor's epithet was *Balcbeimnech*, later *Beimeann* or *Beimnenach*, "of the mighty blows." If then de Jubainville's etymology is correct, the epithet is simply a more intelligible doublet of the name itself.

<sup>24</sup> Under the year 722 in the *Annales Cambriae* is recorded the death of Beli son of Elfin (=Alpin-), and under the year 721 in the *Annals of Ulster*, the death of Bile mac Elpin (=Alpin-), King of Alcluathe. See introduction to Ifor Williams's *Lludd a Llewelys*.

<sup>25</sup> *HL*, 318. Rhŷs's note is as follows: "Treating the Welsh Beli as the consort of Dôn, and regarding Irish *Balor* as well as Irish *Bile* as etymologically connected to *Beli*, we may put the pedigrees of Llew and Lug side by side as follows:

Dôn (Wife of Beli)	Ceithlenn (wife of Balor)
Arianrhod (mistress of Gwydion brother of Govannon the smith)	Eithne (mistress of MacKineely brother of Gavida the smith)
Llew (the Solar Hero).	Lug (the Solar Hero)."

<sup>26</sup> *Irish Mythological Cycle*, p. 115. For an attempt to explain *Bile*, see *op. cit.*, p. 126.

§108. Bearing in mind Rhys's and de Jubainville's conjecture that Balor and Beli are identical, we shall find the verse devoted to Beli in the "Englynion of the Graves" particularly significant, even if, for lack of confirmatory evidence, we may not use all the clues it seems to supply. There he is neither the son of Mynogan, nor the famous ancestor of kings, nor the Great, but simply the son of a giant. The verse runs :

*Pieu yr bed yn y maes mawr  
Balch y law ar a lafnawr.  
Bet beli ab benlli gawr.*<sup>27</sup>

Whose the grave in the Great Plain?

Mighty was his hand on his swords (or spears),—  
The grave of Beli son of Benlli the Giant.

In the adjective *balch*, taken in conjunction with the weapons mentioned, we have an exact reproduction of the epithet of the Irish *Balor*, *Balcbeimnech*,<sup>28</sup> "of the mighty blows,"<sup>29</sup> *balch* being the Welsh cognate of the Irish *balc*.

*Beli's Spear.*

§109. Beli is regularly associated in Welsh poetry with a spear, and it was a favourite figure of the bards to compare their patron with Beli in respect of the force of his blows, and of his spear. Gruffudd vab Maredudd, who flourished in the third quarter of the 14th century, praises Gronwy ab Tudur, saying :

*Rhuthr ynni Beli beleidr gwaed ffrau,*<sup>30</sup>

"a rush like the impetus of Beli with his spears flowing with blood,"

<sup>27</sup> BBC. p. 69; *FAB*, I, 35.

<sup>28</sup> *ingen Balair Bailc-beimnig*,—here in the genitive. *MS Materials*, p. 619; *Irish Mythological Cycle*, p. 63. *Balar Balcbeimnech. Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, p. 171.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *par bylchlawnyn balch* (*RBP* 108a), "mighty spear with dented blade."

<sup>30</sup> *MA*, 299a. *RBP*, 108b has *beidyr* which is an obvious error for *beleidyr*.

and further in the same poem he says :

*Gwaet raeadyr baladyr gwiwder beli hir,*<sup>31</sup>

“with spear streaming with blood, the splendour of  
Beli Hir.”

Madawg Dwygraig (fl. 1320) praises Morgan Dafydd :

*gwr kadyr rud baladyr mal rod beli mawr,*<sup>32</sup>

“a mighty man with bloody spear like the sweep of Beli  
Mawr.”

Llywelyn Goch ap Meurug Hen (fl. 1380) to Hopcyn ap Thomas :

*Goroffgadyr baladyr beli unosgryn,*<sup>33</sup>

“with marvellous and mighty spear, dealing terror  
like Beli.”

Beli, then, like Balor was “mighty of blows,” and was remembered for that quality up to the latter part of the fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

### *Mag Mór.*

§110. He is buried according to the verse in the “great plain.” The “Great Plain,”—*Mag Mór*,—is famous in Irish literature as the name of the Land of the Dead,<sup>35</sup> but it has also been, like *Lochlann* in Irish and *Llychlyn* in Welsh, euhemerized to denote that distant land (Spain according to the Irish *Nennius*) whence comes every invasion,—“gormes,” as the Welsh would have said,—and to which it returns.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *RBP*, 109b. <sup>32</sup> *RBP*, 68a. *MA*, 322. *MA*, 300a.

<sup>33</sup> *RBP*, 104a. *MA*, 340a, has the inferior reading *am osgryn*.

<sup>34</sup> Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfrbryf*), says of Benlli Gawr: *Credir . . . mai braddug creulon a gorthrymus oedd Benlli, un o'r Coraniaid drygnaws*. “It is believed . . . that Benlli was a cruel and oppressive ogre, one of the evil-natured Coraniaid.” *THSC*, 1891-2, p. 90. See §99 and note.

<sup>35</sup> *Irish Mythological Cycle*, pp. 48, 77.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid*, 48.

Balor himself was of the Fomorians, who came from Lochlann, —Denmark and the Other-World,—but Lugh his grandson has a curious connection with the Great Plain. Lugh's foster-mother was Tailtiu, wife of the King of the Fir Bolg, and daughter of *Magmor*, which is, in this version of his story, made into a woman.<sup>37</sup> *Mag Mór* was the place of assembly of the Fomorians, and Bres “when he went to seek the help of his Fomorian kindred, found the latter with the king, his father [Elatha] holding a great assembly on a *Mag Mor*,”<sup>38</sup> and “here Beli fills the place ascribed in Irish to Elatha,”<sup>39</sup> who had returned from Ireland to his own land. It is extremely probable that in some version of the story of Balor, he was made to return to the Other-World like Elatha, who in so many ways resembles him; that is, to *Mag Mór*. The Welsh poet is reminiscent of this when he says that Beli's grave is in the *Maes Mawr*, the “Great Plain.” *Maes Mawr* still exists as the name of a house in the Dylan district. If the theory we have outlined has any basis, then *Maes Mawr* was associated with Beli in the early forms of the legend, and the name was given to a place in the district of *Math*. Even if there is no substance in the theory, we have Beli's grave located in the district associated with the mabinogi of *Math*. Further, a possibly more famous *Maes Mawr* in the Benlli Gawr district is definitely assigned by tradition to the Beli-Benlli legend:

*Mae man ar y mynyd rung Jal ag Ystrad alun uuc Ryd  
y gyfartfa a elwir y Maes maur le bu yr uruydyr rung  
Meirion ap Tybiaun, a Beli ap Benli gaur le las Beli  
ap Benli, ag y gossodes Meirion dau faen yn eu sefyl un  
ym m[h]ob penn ir bed : y rain a vuant yno hyd o feun y*

<sup>37</sup> *ibid*, 77. See Rhys, *HL.*, pp. 412–6.

<sup>38</sup> Rhys, *HL.*, p. 413, note.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid*, pp. 274–5.



*deugain mlyned yma.* . . . "There is a place on the mountain-land between Iâl and Ystrad Alun above Rhyd y Gyvarthva that is called *Y Maes Mawr* where the battle was fought between Meirion ap Tybiawn and Beli ap Benlli the Giant, where Beli ap Benlli was slain, and Meirion placed two standing stones, one at either end of the grave. These were there up to the last forty years."<sup>40</sup>

*Benlli Gawr.*

§III. We are not yet at the end of what it is possible to learn from the Welsh verse. Beli is here called the son of Benlli the Giant, a mysterious figure of whom very little is known in Welsh literature or legend. That he is not merely a late doublet of Beli is shown by the name of Ynys Enlli (in English, Bardsey Island) off the extreme end of Caernarvonshire, which stands for an older *Ynys Venlli*, that is, the Island of Benlli. Lewis Morris<sup>41</sup> says that Benlli was "a prince of great power about the fifth century (A.D. 450), from whose name the contriver of the legend of St. Cynhafal made *Enlli Gawr* to give name to the Isle of Enlli, or Bardsey." Of this Benlli there is a curious story interpolated into the text of Nennius's *Historia Britonum*, obviously a part of an *Acta Sancti Germani*, which may be summarised as follows:<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *RWM*, Peniarth MS. 267; the note is found also in Llanstephan MS. 18, "ex libro J. Jones, Gelli Lyvdy," the author of the above.

<sup>41</sup> *Celtic Remains*, pp. 32-3. Lewis Morris failed to see here the regular loss of the initial *v* of the second element of compounds, Cf. *Rhiwabon* (Ruabon), for *Rhiw Vabon*, "the Hill of Mabon"; *Bodorgan* (in Anglesey) for *Bod Vorgan*, "the House of Morgan."

<sup>42</sup> *Nennii Historia Britonum*, pp. 25-7.

*St. Garmon and Benlli.*

§112. There was a very wicked and oppressive king, whose name was Benli. [Here the Arundel MS., Stevenson's P, reads *Belinus* in the margin]. St. Germanus wished to preach to him, but the porter refused to admit him to his presence, and kept him and his friends waiting on the door-step. They waited there till night and knew not where to go, but one of the king's slaves (*unus de servis regis*) entertained them at his own house. And of all kinds of animals (*de omnibus generibus jumentorum*) this slave had only one cow and a calf. He killed the calf and placed it before them. St. Germanus ordered them not to break a single bone, and on the morrow they found the calf standing before his mother, alive and whole. King Benli had a custom of killing any servant who did not come to his work before the rising of the sun, and St. Germanus baptized a servant whom he found running late to the court, and who was afterwards, according to the king's custom, slain. They remained the whole of that day before the gate and failed to see the king. The slave who had entertained the saint was warned by him that no one of his men should remain in the Caer (*in arce*) that night, and so he fetched out of the Caer his nine sons and returned with them to his house. St. Germanus warned them to remain fasting within closed doors. "Be watchful," he said, "and whatever happens, do not look into the Caer but pray without ceasing and call upon the Lord." After some time, in the night, fire fell from heaven and destroyed the Caer together with the King and all his men, and they have not been seen to this day; and to this day the Caer has not been rebuilt. On the morrow the saint made the slave king. He was Cadell Dyrnllwg.<sup>43</sup>

*Analysis of the Miracle of St. Germanus.*

§113. The above story is a variant of *Thor and his Goats*<sup>44</sup> of which there are many forms, but there are no grounds for supposing that, when found in Welsh hagiology or elsewhere,

<sup>43</sup> A different, and, on the whole, an inferior account is given of this miracle in a *cywydd* by Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Vychan (fl. 1500) who attributes it to St. Cynhafal, the patron saint of Llangynhafal in Denbighshire, a parish which is in the vicinity of Moel Venlli, "Benlli's Moel." The poet describes the saint as filling the Giant's body "with wild fire," which drove him into the river Alun for relief. The river refused to assuage his pains, and became dry three times, and his bones were burnt on its banks. (*British Saints*, under *Cynhafal*, II, 255.)

<sup>44</sup> *Professor Bugge's Studies in Northern Mythology shortly examined*, p. 116.

it is a borrowing from Teutonic myth. It is safer to regard it as one form of a widely diffused myth which has passed into folklore.<sup>45</sup> The latinity of the account incorporated in Nennius's work shows many traces of a Welsh, or at least Celtic origin.<sup>46</sup> That it has reached us in an incoherent form may be adduced from the disconnected episode of the servant who was late. It bears in fact some of the stigmata of genuine Celtic Giant stories, such as the servant or watcher who warns the stranger not to enter the *Caer* of the Giant. It is curious, too, that we should find here the episode of the cow, which is one of the peculiarities of stories about Balor and the Cornish Bellerus,<sup>47</sup> and the account of the burning of the castle by the saint. We detect, then, some episodes which are characteristic of the Balor legend, though they are here presented in a much altered form :

- (1) Benli is a wicked oppressor.
- (2) A calf, which was with its mother, is restored to life by the saint
- (3) The castle is consumed by fire in a manner here unspecified.
- (4) There is an insistence throughout the story on the time of day and night. The fire descends *post modicum intervallum noctis*.
- (5) The saint's friends must not on any account look towards Benli's *caer*.

<sup>45</sup> An interesting variant of it is found in *A Lady's Walks in the South of France*, by Mary Eyre. (London, 1865), pp. 293-4. This folk-tale is quoted in full in the *Folk-Lore Journal*, Vol. I, p. 384.

<sup>46</sup> As, for instance, an almost complete absence of compound and complex sentences, and the beginning of each new sentence with *et*; the adverb after the adjective, *uniquus atque tyrannus valde*; *ad caput anni* (=W. *hyd ymhen y flwyddyn*) and many such idioms as "*nusquam apparuerunt usque ad hodiernum diem*" (=W. *hyd y dydd heddiw*).

<sup>47</sup> According to the *Acta Sanctorum* (July 31st. *Constantius's Life*), St. Germanus's feat was originally to raise an ass to life; the change here from ass to cow is significant.

These five points in the story, are not perhaps important in themselves, but, taken together, they suggest their analogies in *B*, which for the purpose of comparison may be briefly tabulated as follows :

- (1) Balor was a wicked and oppressive robber.
- (2) His most famous feat was the stealing of a cow.
- (3) His most famous characteristic was the possession of an eye which could consume with fire whatever it beheld
- (4) This burning took place at day-break.
- (5) No one could live and look at his uncovered eye.

§114. The vital portion of St. Germanus's miracle is the resuscitation of a dead calf, or possibly a dead cow, belonging to a poor servant of Benli who lived, not in the court, but outside. It is quite possible that the manner of the calf's death was forgotten, as being not vital to the miracle, and that the anonymous compiler of the *Vita Sancti Germani* hazarded the first guess that came into his head (and surely a poor guess), that the calf was dead because it had been eaten by the saint and his friends ! Now we know that when a British saint performs a miracle of restoration, he almost invariably does so to right some wrong done by the tyrannical king who reigns in the vicinity to someone afterwards to be converted.<sup>48</sup> It may be fairly assumed that the calf (or probably cow) had been killed by Benlli Gawr.

§115. There is an interesting discrepancy in Nennius's account. The whole interpolation, §§32-35 (after the words *In tempore illius venit Sanctus Germanus, etc.*, forming an introduction to join what follows to the preceding account of Guorthigirnus) is headed *Primum miraculum de miraculis ejus*. But two miracles are recorded, under this one heading, namely

<sup>48</sup> See, for instance, under *Beuno* in *British Saints*.

the restoration of the calf and the burning of the Caer, though it is not said that Germanus had any connection with the second. Further, no reason is given for the warning that Germanus's friends must not during the night look at the Caer. The probable explanation is that we have here a double episode telescoped into one, which originally was not a miracle of fire from heaven. *The Christians must not look at the Caer, because at dawn Benlli Gawr would open his one eye and burn whatever he looked at.* What Germanus did was to contrive that instead of burning the Christians who were immune because they protected themselves by prayer and fasting, and had not looked towards him, Benlli looked at his own Caer and destroyed it.

§116. Add to this the fact that Benlli like Balor had, in another legend, his home on an island to which he has given his name. It will be shown later that the name, *Caer Dathal*, the headquarters of the court in *Math*, is the Caer of *Tathal*, a Welsh adaptation of the Irish *Tuathal*, equivalent to the Welsh *Tudwal*. Now the Island of Benlli is opposite that part of the mainland of Lleyn which is associated with Tudwal, namely Tudweiliog, and a small island near Enlli is called the Island of Saint Tudwal, and the bay in which it stands, St. Tudwal's Bay.<sup>49</sup> Further, if we may trust Milton, St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall was associated with a giant Bellerus. He addresses Lycidas and asks,

<sup>49</sup> There is a *cywydd* attributed to Hywel ap Dafydd in praise of the Abbot of Enlli, in which it is related that twenty thousand saints sought out the two hermits of Enlli, Lleudad and Hywyn. The hermits in order to feed their visitors milked a cow over their well, the water of which immediately turned into milk. The *cywydd*, which by its style seems to belong to the late 16th century, is printed in Professor Gwynn Jones's *Llen Cymru*, ii, 41. We draw attention to two points for what they may be worth: (1) The name *Lleu-dad* which may be translated "Father Lleu," and (2) The miraculous milk which may be compared to that of Glas Gavnen, and of Y Fwch Laethwen Lefrith of the *Iolo MSS*, already noticed.

Or whether thou to our moist vows denied,  
 Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old,  
 Where the great vision of the guarded mount  
 Looks towards Namancos and Bayona's hold. . . .

It may be that Milton here inferred *Bellerus* from Diodorus's *Belerium* and Ptolemy's *Bolerium*, the name of Land's End, but against that it may be said that he distinctly refers to a definite fable associated, not with Land's End, but with St. Michael's Mount. In his time Bellerus was probably associated with the island, exactly as on the coast of Ireland Balor was associated with Tory Island, and in Wales, Beli's daughter with the rock-island of Caer Arianrhod. It is with no surprise, therefore, that we learn from popular Cornish tradition these two important facts :

(1) The Giant of St. Michael's Mount had a hammer like the Giant of Trecobben Hill. One day St. Michael's Mount called to Trecobben, "Hulloa, up there! Trecobben, throw us the hammer, woost a'?" The giant's wife who was near-sighted, ran out of the cave to see the hammer thrown. "She had no hat on; and coming at once out into the light, she could not distinguish objects. Consequently she did not see the hammer coming through the air, and received it between her eyes. She fell dead at the giant's feet."<sup>50</sup>

(2) The giant of St. Michael's Mount had but one eye, and that in the middle of his forehead. "Whenever he required food he would walk or wade across to Market-Jew, . . . select the best cow in the neighbourhood, and swinging it over his shoulders, return to his island." One day he stole a calf from the lord of Pengerswick, who was a magician, and who, by his arts glued him to a rock.<sup>51</sup>

Having regard then to descriptions of the Cornish giant given in these two tales, namely that he was distinguished, (1) as the hurler of a hammer, (2) as a Cyclops, (3) as a cattle-stealer, (4) as living on an island near the mainland, we may conclude that the Giant of St. Michael's Mount was correctly named by Milton *Bellerus* (latinised from a Cornish *Belly* or *Bellyr*)

<sup>50</sup> *Popular Romances of the West of England*, p. 55.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 53-4.

and that the legend of Balor, in some at least of its characteristic details, was known in the British Cornwall as well as in Wales.

§117. We may now assert with confidence that there are distinct traces of the Balor legend, as we know it in Ireland, associated in Wales with the name of the Giant Beli, and with that of his father the Giant Benlli. Whether Beli's deeds have been credited to another giant whose name was associated with an island, or the similarity of the two names attracted the stories so as to make them common to both, we have no means of judging. It is sufficient to know that the Balor legend existed, at least in parts, in connection with a Giant whom we may name for convenience Benlli-Beli. It only remains to mention that the part of Arvon which extends towards Aber Menai, mentioned in *Math*, and which forms, on the southern side, the Bar of the Menai Straits, is called Belan, which may or may not be connected with Beli. It is almost certain, however, that it is of Irish origin, as the Irish diminutive *-an* shows, but it may, from its position at the mouth of Menai Straits, be from the Irish *bealan*, "a little mouth."<sup>52</sup>

§118. Beli's own particular country seems to be Gwynedd, or even Arvon. Whenever he is not mentioned in connection with the whole island of Britain, Gwynedd seems to be indicated, as for instance when Dafydd Benvras says of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, Prince of Gwynedd :

*Mabolaeth fy rhwyf yw rhywoli cad Cedwyr tud Feli,*<sup>53</sup>

"My prince is trained in youth to rule over the battle of the warriors of the land of Beli,"

<sup>52</sup> cf. W. *Ueban*, "a lazy, inert person,"—Irish *leaba*, gen. *leaban*, "a bed"; W. *brecan* "rug"—I. *breacan*, "a plaid"; W. *brechdan* "piece of bread and butter,"—I. *breachdan*; W. *croesan* "buffoon,"—I. *crossan* "buffoon"; W. *llopan*, "ragged shoe,"—I. *lôpa* "ragged stocking"; W. *llyfran* "little book,"—I. *leabhran*, "booklet."

<sup>53</sup> *MA*, 217, b.

or when Cynddelw sings of the same prince :

*Peth oe dylyet gan dylyu breint  
bro veli ae medu. . 54*

“ [He had] some of his due, for his due was the privilege and the possession of the land of Beli.”

§119. There is thus sufficient evidence to suppose that, in a former version of *Math*, the Giant Grandfather, corresponding as he does to the Irish Balor, was Beli, who is called, in another place, the father of Arianrhod. We have seen, however, that two parallel versions have been fused together in the Mabinogi, in one of which the mother was Arianrhod and the grandfather probably Beli, and in the other Goewin. If Goewin then was the mother, the Giant Grandfather must have been Pebin “of Dôl Bebin in Arvon,” concerning whom we know absolutely nothing. It is almost certain that his name is Latin, as it goes back to an older form of the British period, *Papinius*, a common Roman name.

*Beli, Pebin, Arianrhod, Goewin.*

§120. Of this Pebin, we repeat, nothing whatever is known, except the association of his name with Dôl Bebin in Nantlle[u] in Arvon, and nothing therefore can be even conjectured, as we have no grounds except the general similarity of his name, in its mutated form *Bebin*, to *Belin*. Personally I feel convinced that it is this similarity of names which accounts for the second form of the name of the Giant ; that is to say, that the story of Beli and his grandson Llew was by some *cyvarwyddon* related as the story of Pebin of Dôl Bebin and his grandson Llew, and that a later *cyvarwydd* or even the “author” of the mabinogi of *Math* retained one of the two names as the grandfather’s

<sup>54</sup> RBP, 156a, MA, 176a. The reading in the first line, *dylyn*, is a clear error for *dylyu* as the rhyme shows.



name, but kept in his telescoped version the names of the two daughters. Whether this view corresponds to facts or not, the point has been established that

*Math[en], originally the Helping Druid, has supplanted an original Giant who was called in one version Pebin and in another Beli.*

§121. Let us now return to the daughter's name. Goewin, daughter of Pebin, is almost as little known as her father. There is only one reference to her in Welsh literature :

*Oed mackwy mabklaf : oed goe[w]in gyuran  
yn llys vrenhin :  
poet gwyl duw wrth y dewin,*<sup>55</sup>

“ The young swain was sick of love ; Goe[w]in had a portion in the King's court ; God's watch be over his magician.”

Here we have an echo of Goewin's story found in *Math*, which cannot probably be very early ; indeed, like nearly all the references to the characters of *Math*, it seems to be subsequent to the time when the mabinogi assumed its present form.

### *Arianrhod.*

§122. Of Arianrhod not much is recorded in the early poetry. In the poem called *Kadeir Kerritwen*, “ Ceridwen's Chair,” where Gwydion and Dôn and Llew are mentioned, occur the lines :

<sup>55</sup> *RBP*, 10b ; *FAB*, ii, 259. This englyn, like all the englynion ending with proverbs, only proves that Goe[w]in was a known name when the verse was written. The only consideration that governed the choice of a name was the rhyme. See *BBCS*, iii, pp. 6-7.

*Aranrot drem clot tra gwawr hinon.*

*Mwyhaf gwarth y marth o parth brython*

*Dybrys am y [l]lys efnys afon.<sup>56</sup>*

“Arianrhod of famous beauty, surpassing the hue of sunshine; greatest was the shame of her death (?) on the side of the Britons; <sup>57</sup> round her court flows the river *efnys* (?)”

We can only suppose that this verse refers to the tradition recorded by Rhys<sup>58</sup> that Caer Arianrhod, the submerged rock off the west coast of Arvon, marks the site of an inundated city from which only three sisters escaped, Gwennan bi Dôn, Elan bi Dôn, and Maelan bi Dôn.<sup>59</sup> It seems to have no reference to any incident in the mabinogi of *Math*.

§123. In fact, we know nothing of the Arianrhod of the mabinogi, as the testimony of the Triad already quoted is clearly later than the mabinogi itself. What independent testimony we have, namely that of the *BT* verse and the local tradition, must be taken, for what it is worth, as showing that Arianrhod was famous as the heroine of an Inundation legend, or perhaps, as Rhys suggests,<sup>60</sup> as a fay who lived in a water-girt castle. Indeed, *Arianrhod*, when carefully examined, does

<sup>56</sup> *BT*, 36; *FAB*, ii, 159. The translation of these lines is tentative and given with all reserve. Rhys has attempted to explain them, (*AL*, 157), and he connects *efnys* with *envys*, “rainbow,” and with the name *Evnysyen* in the mabinogi of *Branwen*. This seems unlikely, as the more probable explanation of *Evnysyen* is that the prefix *ev* was added to make him pair with his brother *Nysyen*, which is a genuine name, being that of the saint of *Llanishen* (=Llan Nissien), two parishes in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. *Efnys*, without its termination, would then correspond to Irish *amnas* (*Contributions to Celtic Lexicography*, p. 86) and would mean “sulky, unpleasant.” As to *marth*, see *BA*, i; *MA*, 148a, 148b, 296b, 343a (=RBP, 1337), 177b (=RBP, 1165).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. this phrase with *mawrut o Brython*, “lord of the Britons,” used of Gwydion. <sup>58</sup> *CF*, p. 208.

<sup>59</sup> Rhys failed to make anything of the *bi* in these names. I can only suggest that it is the Irish *be* “wife of,” used in proper names. In that case, these women are the wives of Dôn, who is here regarded as a man, which he may, of course, have been. <sup>60</sup> *CF*, p. 209.

not suggest a personal name at all. We know that in the very district where the drama of Llew's youth was played there exists to this day a submerged rock, visible at low water, called *Caer Arianrhod*, or in the dialect of the district *Tre Ga'r Anthrag*.<sup>61</sup> Edward Lhuyd records *Caer Anrhod* and *Caer Anrhad*<sup>62</sup> and there seems to be little reason for doubt that what is now marked on the maps as *Caer Arianrhod* has been so named since the times of the mabinogion. *Arianrhod*, not indeed as a personal, but as a place name, is of great antiquity in the Celtic world, if we can connect it with *Argentoratum*, the name of Strassburg in Roman times.<sup>63</sup> If it is of the same origin, the last element must be connected with the Irish *ráth* and not with the Welsh *rhod*, "a wheel," which is derived from the *L. rota*; it would then mean "the Silver Mound." That, however, would not by any means prevent popular etymology from explaining the name as "Silver Wheel."<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> I was at first disposed to see in this name something quite different from *Arianrhod*, and to suppose that it meant the "*Trev* (town) of Caranthreg"; but *nthr* is an impossible Welsh combination, as an original *ntr* gives *thr*, and *anotrica* would have given *-andreg*. Moreover, the change from the *anrh* of *Arianrhod* to *anthr* is quite regular in Gwynedd; see Prof. Parry-Williams's note in *BBCS*, i, p. 107, where such instances are given as *Y Lenthryd* for *Y Felenrhyd*, *Penthryn* for *Penrhyn*, and *winthraw* for *ewinrhew*. It is to be noticed that the name generally occurs in the mabinogi as *Aranrhod*.

<sup>62</sup> In his queries Lhuyd calls it *Caer Anrhod*. The reply from the parish of Llanwnda was: "*Caer Anrhad* was a Town for certain. *Anrhad* was Son of Dôn, who lived here. This Dôn was an usurper Seisyllt ap Dôn" . . . (*the rest is lost*). *Parochialia*, III, 51. It is to be noticed that the answers to Lhuyd's queries were supplied locally, and that the informant, though living in the parish of Llanwnda, knew nothing of the *Arianrhod* of the *Mabinogi*.

<sup>63</sup> See *RC*, XIII, 283.

<sup>64</sup> It is further necessary to suppose that the name was regarded as meaning "Silver Wheel" when the mabinogi was written, and that this confusion influenced the termination *-rawd*, which even then was passing into the modern *-rod*.

## Argante.

§124. Like other Welsh heroines, Arianrhod seems to have passed into Arthurian romance as a sorceress, or at least a fairy queen. When Arthur is wounded, according to Layamon, he bade farewell to his friend, and said :

*And ich wulle uaren to Aualū :*  
*to uairest alre maidene.*  
*to Argante þere quene :*  
*aluen swide sceone.*  
*and heo sal mine wunden :*  
*makeien alle isunde.*  
*al hal me makien :*  
*mid haleweiye drenchen.*<sup>65</sup>

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In the who is queen of Avallon is not mentioned by as the <sup>n</sup>, and this is probably one of the instances er than the <sup>nd</sup> on Wace. Is it possible that the we have, namely the <sup>rt</sup> the waters ran" really was, must be taken, for what the Otherworld? Her was famous as the hero<sup>n</sup> of the Otherworld? Her as Rhys suggests,<sup>60</sup> as a fay<sup>le</sup> of the sea certainly lends deed, *Arianrhod*, when car

; *FAB*, ii, 159. The translation of t<sup>ains</sup> a passage which all reserve. Rhys has attempted to ex<sup>ls</sup> beneath its surface nects *efnys* with *enrys*, "rainbow," of the *lai* concerns the mabinogi of *Branwen*. This seems of the *lai* concerns planation of *Efnys* is that the pi pair with his brother *Nysyen*, which <sup>ld</sup> age, and being a of the saint of *Llanishen* (= *Llan Nissien*, his old sister, and and Monmouthshire. *Efnys*, without its <sup>n</sup> response to her spond to Irish *amnas* (*Contributions to Celt*, <sup>ured</sup> in a narrow would mean "sulky, unpleasant." As to <sup>ed</sup>, . . . and a, 148b, 296b, 343a (= *RBP*, 1337), 177b (= *RBP*, <sup>long</sup> time, the this phrase with *maurut o Brython*, "lord of the b<sup>st</sup> the jealous wydion. <sup>58</sup> *CF*, p. 208.

Rhys failed to make anything of the *bi* in these names. I<sup>nd</sup> window, to suggest that it is the Irish *bē* "wife of," used in proper names. the lady ase, these women are the wives of *Dôn*, who is here regarded as a le to which he may, of course, have been. <sup>60</sup> *CF*, p. 209.

lodge that had but one entrance, all covered with blood. Thence she came "to a very fair mead." She saw the grass stained with blood, and followed the track through the mead :

*Asez pres vite une cité.  
De mur fu close tute entour.  
N'i ot maisun, sale ne tur  
qui ne parust tute d' argent.  
Mult sunt riche li mandement  
Devers le burc sunt li mareis  
e les forez e li defeis.  
De l'autre part vers le dunjun  
cort une ewe tute environ;  
iloece arivoënt les nes,  
plus i aveit de treis cens tres.<sup>67</sup>*

"Near at hand she saw a city, all enclosed by a wall. No house was there nor hall nor tower that did not seem all of silver; very rich are the buildings. Before the town are marches and forests and hedges, and on the other side near the keep runs a water all round; there came the ships, in numbers more than three hundred sail."

§126. We have here, of course, the typical Celtic other-world scenery on the details of which I need not enlarge. What concerns us more intimately is that

- (1) The town is (or appears to be) built all of silver.
- (2) It is on an island round which the river runs.
- (3) The harbour is crowded with ships.

There is no reason why a Norman or any story-teller should, in describing a marvellous city, confine his imagination to the second best in the matter of splendour. Naturally we should expect that this city should be built of gold, like the new Jerusalem, and when an author deliberately says silver, there is some reason for it. We suggest here that the wounded

<sup>67</sup> *Marie de France*, pp. 136-7. (*Yonec*, vv. 364 ff.)

knight, like the wounded Arthur in Layamon's *Brut*, had gone to Avallon, and that the queen of that other-world island was Argante. If therefore this was the Island of Argante, it was inevitable that it should be described by a writer with a knowledge of either Welsh, Irish, French or Latin, as built of silver. The analogy, too, with the description of Arianrhod's island in the Welsh verse is obvious, and for what it is worth, there is a striking correspondence between the water of the Silver City, where over three hundred sail are at anchor, and the mirage created by Gwydion in the harbour of Caer Arianrhod, where they "could not see the colour of the sea from all the ships that were crowding one on the other."<sup>68</sup>

§127. It does not seem improbable, then, that Arianrhod in Celtic tradition was officially, so to speak, the queen of the Other World, living on a water-girt island, and receiving the heroes of romance who came to her, wounded to death, for their healing. In later times, if we may trust the modern local tradition recorded by Rhÿs, she naturally became the heroine of a submerged-island legend, though in older literary tradition we have no record of such a rôle.

§128. The question which we have now to face is this,—how came Arianrhod to be the mother of Llew Llaw Gyffes? We have seen that her history was so little known even to those who wrote after the composition of the mabinogi that it was possible for the later redactors of the Triads so to bungle over her name as *to change it to the better known Rhiannon*. The bardic tradition among the later poets leaves no room for doubt as to the rôle which Arianrhod played in the story as known to them. Tudur Aled (1465?–1526) has a cywydd addressed to a lady whom her father, mother, and husband guard so jealously that he cannot approach her :

<sup>68</sup> See *Text*, p. 24, ll. 19–21.

*Y fun bach a fyynn i bod*  
*Ar unrhyw wedd Arianrhod,*  
*Ag felly mae—gwae a'i gwyl !*  
*Draw ni chaf droi'n i chyfyl.*  
*Mae arni, goleuni gwlad,*  
*Mor gadarn â'r mur, geidwad,*  
*Gwr digus, gwir daeogyn,*  
*Gwael barch, a wŷr gwylio bun.*  
*Eilwaith, i thad a'i olwg,*  
*A'i mam draw, mwy im y drwg,*  
*Ni lefys dyn oleufain*  
*Neidio i'r rhiw, ni ad y rhain.*<sup>69</sup>

“The dear maid who claims that she is in the same case as Arianrhod,—(and so she is!), woe to him who looks upon her. I am not allowed there to come near her. Over her, luminary of the countryside, is a keeper as strong as the wall, an angry husband, a veritable churl of low degree, who is skilled in watching a woman ; and again, there is her father with his eyes [upon her] and her mother, and this is all the worse for me. The lissom lady dare not jump on to the cliff, these people will not let her.”

Lewys Môn (fl. 1480) speaks of the lady whom he loves thus :

*Mae 'nghwyn am vorwyn yn vwy*  
*no Math hen ab Mathonwy ;*  
*braich un ddi-wair, breichwen<sup>70</sup> ddoeth,*  
*oedd i obennydd beunoeth,*  
*Arianrhod eira unrhyw,*  
*ni byddai vab hebddi'n vyw.*<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Tudur Aled*, II, p. 511.

<sup>70</sup> MS.: *vrechwen*.

<sup>71</sup> *Peniarth MS.* 76, fol. 207.

“My plaint concerning a maid is greater than [that of] Math hen son of Mathonwy. The arm of a chaste white-armed wise maiden was every night his pillow, Arianrhod white as snow ; that man might not live without her.”

§129. The poets' contribution, it will be seen, is meagre, and this, no doubt, is partly due to the fact that the great bulk of Welsh poetry is still in manuscript.<sup>72</sup> Lewys Môn's reference to Arianrhod is of the first importance. It shows that the version known to him differed in essential details from the present mabinogi, and that therefore, the present form must not be regarded as the standard version accepted by the poets and writers of Wales. The points of importance are these :

- (1) The king's name was Math Hen, a form which is confirmed elsewhere.
- (2) Arianrhod was not a foot-holder, but something like Abishag in the Jewish story of King David already noted.
- (3) Math's virgin was not Goewin, but Arianrhod.
- (4) The reference is to some form of the mabinogi because a whole sentence is common to Lewis Môn's version and to the version of *RB* and *WB*, viz., “that man might not live without her.”

On the other hand, Tudur Aled has knowledge of the more primitive, or perhaps we should say, alternative form of the legend. In his *cywydd*, Arianrhod's history is exactly that of Balor's daughter. The points may be tabulated thus :

- (1) Arianrhod was kept under watch by her father, guarded between walls.
- (2) Her lover might not approach her.
- (3) Her tower was on a cliff.

<sup>72</sup> I found these two references long after I had written out the first draft of this book. They are, therefore, all the more valuable as confirming the conclusions which had been reached on the general evidence.



§130. The divergence between the two poets, who between them cover the essential points in both forms of the legend, is noteworthy as showing that two men, both hailing from North Wales<sup>73</sup> and approximately contemporaries, and both, from their position as *penceirddiaid* or chief bards, well versed in the legendary lore, could yet present such widely differing versions of the same story. Comparing the poets' account with *Math*, we find that they stand as follows :

- (1) *Primitive tale where Arianrhod is guarded in a sea-girt castle.* Tudur Aled.
- (2) *A tradition according to which Arianrhod is king's bed-fellow.* Lewys Môn.
- (3) [*Early form of Mabinogi in which Arianrhod is the foot-holder.*] Σ.
- (4) *Mabinogi in which Arianrhod is no longer the foot-holder but is the mother of Llew.* Math.

Of these four types, (1) and (3) are in the direct line of tradition. (1) is probably the oldest of all, representing a stage in which Arianrhod is shut up by her father in a sea-girt castle in order to maintain her virginity. (3) would represent the later version of that precaution. (2) seems to be a confused development of (3) ; that is to say, the poet knew of Arianrhod as having been jealously guarded by the King and as being always kept in personal touch with him, and he interpreted that fact as meaning that she was the king's bed-fellow. So that we may assume that the genuine traditions of Arianrhod were those of the two methods of keeping her a virgin, one being represented by Tudur Aled's reference, and the other by an older version of *Math*, in which she was her father's foot-holder.

<sup>73</sup> Tudur Aled from N. W. Denbighshire and Lewis Môn from Anglesey.

§131. We have seen that Arianrhod is named in Welsh tradition as the daughter of Beli, and we know that in *Math* she is the mother of Llew, but has been ousted by Goewin from the position of foot-holder for reasons to be discussed later. If, as we have suggested,<sup>74</sup> the name Arianrhod was not originally a personal name but rather a place-name like *Argentoratum*, and since the name Arianrhod has no counterpart in Irish forms of the legend, then the primitive form from which *Math* is derived must have described Beli as confining his daughter on an un-named rock in the locality of the story. The only place of that kind within sight of Dinlleu was a rock opposite a place still known as *Bryn Gwydion*, "the Hill of Gwydion," and named *Caer Arianrhod*, which may mean either "the Fort of Arianrhod," as one would say "the City of London," or "Arianrhod's Fort," like "Kingstown" or "Georgetown." The place-name Arianrhod would then produce a person Arianrhod, because it would be naturally given to the person dwelling on the island; in that way Arianrhod would become the daughter of Beli and the mother of Llew.

§132. We can now tabulate the probable development of the final stages of the Mabinogi as follows :

1st stage. *One form* :

Beli has a daughter (un-named), whom he confines on a rock (un-named), and who becomes the mother of Llew.

2nd stage. *Two concurrent forms* :

(a) Pebin has a daughter Goewin who is "slept with," and becomes the mother of Llew.

(b) Beli has a daughter (un-named) whom he confines in *Caer Arianrhod* and who becomes the mother of Llew.

<sup>74</sup> §123.

3rd stage. *Two concurrent forms* :

(a) Pebin has a daughter Goewin who is "slept with," and becomes the mother of Llew.

(b) Beli has a daughter called Arianrhod whom he confines in the *Caer* bearing her name and who becomes the mother of Llew.

4th stage. *Amalgamation* :

Pebin has a daughter Goewin who is slept with.

Arianrhod becomes the mother of Llew.

And that is the form in which we find the story in *Math*.

*Gwydion and Gilvaethwy.*

§133. It will, by this time, be realised that Gwydion's position in the *Mabinogi of Math* is difficult to estimate. When Gilvaethwy who was sick with love of Goewin began to show signs of what he was suffering, his brother Gwydion questioned him, and on being told that he was dying of love, Gwydion at once consoled him, and said that he would contrive to move *Math* from his surveillance over Goewin by provoking a war between Gwynedd and Dyved. During the development of his plot, he showed himself a skilled magician, and to that character he remains true throughout the story. When his plot was discovered, he, with his brother Gilvaethwy, were punished by *Math* by being turned into animals three years in succession. At the end of the three years, they were taken back into the king's favour, and it may be said that from that point to the end of the *Mabinogi* Gwydion dominates the action of the story, whereas Gilvaethwy entirely drops out. Gwydion begins by suggesting that *Math* should take Arianrhod as foot-holder. When *Math* tests Arianrhod's virginity and when she, failing in the test, leaves "something of her behind her," Gwydion snatches it up and keeps it hid in a chest under the foot of his bed. This "thing" is apparently incubated

and becomes a child, Llew, to whom Gwydion gives all his attention and care. When the child is able to walk, he takes him to his mother, who, *after* Gwydion has told her that it is her son, asks him, "What is the name of *thy* son?" When Arianrhod swears the three destinies on the child, it is Gwydion who, by magic means, breaks the first two, and again by magic, *with the aid of Math*, breaks the third destiny by creating Blodeuwedd "out of flowers." When Llew is lost, it is Gwydion who is most troubled, and it is he who traces him at last and restores him. Throughout the latter part of *Math*, it is quite clear that Gwydion is Llew's father.<sup>75</sup>

§134. That Llew was in Welsh tradition the son rather than the protégé of Gwydion is strikingly proved by a note written by the famous Welsh copyist, John Jones of Gelli Lyvdy, in a manuscript written by him before 1619.<sup>76</sup> Commenting upon a couplet by Ieuan Dyfi,

*Mal Gwydion aml a gedwynt  
Ymhenn gwaith am Huan gynt.*

"Like Gwydion . . . finishing his work for Huan of old," he writes as follows :

<sup>75</sup> Rhys in all his works tacitly assumes that Llew is the son of Gwydion. He did not even think it necessary to explain that he was making the assumption.

<sup>76</sup> See Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans' note on the MS. (Peniarth 112), in the National Library, *RWM* (Peniarth), p. 671. Ieuan Dyfi's couplet is on p. 325 and John Jones's comment on p. 880. The whole passage is given in a note by Sir John Morris-Jones, *Beirniad*, iii, 258,—*Gwraig Huan ap Gwydion, a vu un o ladd ei gwr, ag a ddyfod ei fyned ef i hely oddi gartref, ai dad ef Gwdion brenin Gwynedd y gerddis bob tir yw amofyn, ac or diwedd y gwnaeth ef Gaergwdion (sef: via lactua) sy yn yr awyr yw geissio: ag yn y nef y cafas ei chwedyl, lle yr oedd ei enaid: am hynny y troes y wraig iefanc yn ederyn, a ffo rhag ei thad yn y gyfraith, ag a elwir er hynny hyd heddiw Tŵyll Huan.*

The wife of Huan ap Gwydion was one in a plot to kill her husband, and said that he had gone away hunting, and his father Gwydion, King of Gwynedd, travelled every country to seek him and at last he made Caergwydion, (that is, *via lactua* [sic]), which is in the sky, to find him: and in heaven, he had news of him, where his soul was. Therefore he changed the young woman into a bird, and she fled from her father-in-law, and she is called from that day to this *Huan's Deceiving* (*Twyll Huan*<sup>77</sup>).

§135. It is not easy to explain why Llew, who is well-known in Welsh literature, should here appear as Huan, a name almost completely unknown, unless it be merely to explain the name *Tylluan* or *Dyllhuan*: but whatever the explanation, it is evident that the person whom we know as Llew Llaw Gyffes and who is here called Huan is, according to the tradition of the early seventeenth century, the son of Gwydion. In the Nennius pedigrees<sup>78</sup> we find *Louhen.map.Guid gen. map. Caratauc.map Cinbelin*; that is, in later spelling, *Lleu Hen map Gwydien*, etc., where the analogy of *Mathien*<sup>79</sup> which appears as *Math Hen* from *Mathgen*, may account for the addition of *Hen* to Llew's name, through *Leugen*,<sup>80</sup> and for *Gwydion* appearing as *Gwydien*. On this point, Rhys says that "this agrees with the fact that the *Mabinogi* of Math treats Gwydion as the father of Llew Llaw Gyffes."<sup>81</sup> References to Gwydion are comparatively plentiful. In the poem called *Kat Godeu*<sup>82</sup> the poet boasts:

<sup>77</sup> To explain *Tylluan*, "owl," as if the word were made up of *Twyll*, "deceit," and *Huan*.

<sup>78</sup> *Cymmrodor*, IX, 176.

<sup>79</sup> See above, §100.

<sup>80</sup> It is not impossible that just as *Mathien* means "bear-born," *Lougen* here is meant to mean "Lion-born." *Leuogenos* would give *Lleuien* and not *Llewien*.

<sup>81</sup> *CF*, 551.

<sup>82</sup> *BT*, 25-6. *FAB*, ii. 141-2.

Nyf o vam athaf  
 pan ym digonat.  
 am creu am creat.  
 o nawrith llafanat.  
 (o ffrwyth offrwytheu).  
 o ffrwyth duw dechreu.  
 o vrialu ablodeu bre.  
 o vlawt gwyd a godeu.  
 o prid o pridret  
 pan ymdigonet  
 o vlawt danat  
 odwfyf ton nawvet.  
 am swynwys i vath  
 kyn bum diaeret.  
 am swynwys i wytyon  
 mawnut o brython.

"It was not of mother and father that I was made, and my blood and creation were of the nine forms of sea-weed (?), (from fruit, from fruits), from the fruit of the God of the Beginning, from primroses and the flowers of the hillside, from the bloom of trees and woods, from earth and earth substance was I made, from the bloom of the nettle, from the water of the ninth wave. He who made me by magic was Math before I was . . . ? : he who made me by magic was Gwydion, a lord (?), of the Brython."<sup>83</sup>

§136. Whether we are to suppose that Blodeuwedd herself speaks these verses, or that the poet speaks of himself, Gwydion's rôle is quite clear. He is the magician associated with Math, and his act is to create a human being from flowers, exactly as he does in the *mabinogi*. In the same poem, the poet, supposed to be Taliessin, boasts :

bum ygkaer nefenhir  
 yt gryssynt wellt agwyd.  
 kenynt gerdoryon  
 kryssynt kaduaon.

<sup>83</sup> I take *mawnut* to be a misreading of *mawrut* (= *mawr ud*) from a MS. of BBC type, which represented *dd* by *t*.

*datwyrein y vryth(r)on.*  
*a oreu gwytyon.*  
*gelwyssit ar neifon*  
*argrist o achwysson.*  
*hyt pan y gwarettei*  
*yren rwy digonseï.*  
*As atebwys dofyd*  
*trwy ieith ac eluyd.*  
*rithwch riedawc wyd*  
*gantaw yn lluyd.*<sup>84</sup>

“ I have been in Caer Nevenhir : marched there the grass and the trees, minstrels were singing, they marched to battles. Gwydion made a recovery (?) for the Brython : he called on Neivion (or the Lord), on Christ from needs, so that the Lord who created them should deliver them. The Lord answered “ In words and substance, make by magic the mighty trees to be an army with him.”

§137. Other references to Gwydion have already been noted. He is associated with Llew as a magician,<sup>85</sup> and in *Kadeir Kerrituen*, which also mentions Arianrhod, it is said of him :

*Gwydyon ap don dygynuertheu.*  
*ahudwys gwreic o vlodeu*  
*a dyduc moch odeheu.*  
*kan bu idaw disgoreu.*  
*drut ymyt a gwryt pletheu.*  
*a rithwys gorwydawt*  
*yar plagawt lys*  
*ac enwerys kyfrwyeyu.*<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup> BT, 24 ; FAB, ii. 138-9.

<sup>85</sup> RBP, 20 ; = FAB, ii. 302 ; BT, 33 ; = FAB, ii. 154 ; BBC, 102 ; = FAB, ii. 57.

<sup>86</sup> BT, 36 ; FAB, ii. 158. For *enwerys*, cf. BT, 53, 78 ; MA, 149b, 153a, 184a, 187a, 247b, 258a, 264a.

“Gwydion son of Dôn . . . who made by magic a woman out of flowers, who brought swine from the south,—since he had the best lore in the world, the valiant man,—and made a chain of twisted strands ; he made by magic horses from toadstools, and . . . (?) saddles.”

This is clearly a reference to the same legend of enchantment as is found in *Math* itself ; and this is also true of the Triad which describes him as a pupil in magic of Math ab Mathonwy. A Triad in the justly suspected Third Series<sup>87</sup> calls him one of the three Herdsmen : he “ guarded the cattle of the army of Gwynedd uch Conwy, and in that herd were twenty thousand and one.”<sup>88</sup>

§138. A striking feature of all these bardic and triadic references is their apparent dependence, with the single exception of the last quoted Triad, on the mabinogi tradition. Even the otherwise rather muddle-headed annotator of Skene's *Four Ancient Books* has perceived that the poem on p. 158 is late, and worthless as independent testimony,<sup>89</sup> but when he says that none of the other poems “ refer to events in the Mabinogi ” he is simply stating what is not correct. There is indeed a mention of *Caer Seon*, which has not been identified, as the home of Llew and Gwydion, and to a “ fight with Jews,” but this does not impress one very strongly as a proof of the antiquity of the tradition. In short, the references in Welsh literature outside the Mabinogi help us very little.

§139. One thing is certain, Gwydion has by this time established his fame as a magician. Whether he was entitled

<sup>87</sup> See note 90 to §139.

<sup>88</sup> *MA*, 409b.

<sup>89</sup> “ This poem is not classed with the other poems relating to Gwydion, as it obviously is of much later date and refers to events in the Mabinogi which none of the others do.”



to that fame before the formation of the *mabinogi* or *cyvar-wyddyd* of *Math*, it is difficult to decide. If he was, then it is much easier to see how the transformation took place which removed Gwydion from being the father of Llew and made him the Helping Druid, *vice* Math who had been promoted to the rank of Llew's grandfather. That this change and those that accompany it are not complete is amply shown by the *mabinogi* itself. (a) Math himself in one important sentence is described as helping the designs of Gilvaethwy upon Goewin, (b) the maternity of Goewin is shared with Arianrhod, (c) Arianrhod actually calls Llew Gwydion's son.<sup>90</sup>

§140. When therefore Gwydion ceased to appear as the father of Llew and became the Helping Druid, it was necessary that someone else should be cast for the part. The choice fell upon Gilvaethwy, *to whom no reference is made anywhere in*

<sup>90</sup> Gwydion is often mentioned in the *Iolo MSS*. I refer to this much suspected source with all due reserve, but it may be safely stated that a large portion of the information given in the *Iolo MSS* goes back, directly or indirectly, to genuinely ancient sources. The form, however, of the "historical" portion shows that, as presented, it can be no earlier than Iolo Morganwg's own time, that is about the beginning of the 19th century. On p. 78 a triad is given naming the three Oppressions that came from Ireland. The third is, "*Dôn* (and *Daronwy* say others) King of Llychlyn (Norway)," who came to Ireland and thence led 60,000 Irish and Danes to Gwynedd and had a kingdom there for 129 years. The son of that *Dôn* was Gwydion, King of Môn and Arvon, who first taught book-lore to the Irish of Môn and Gwynedd. Further on p. 81 the date of *Dôn*'s invasion of Gwynedd is given as 267 A.D., a very probable date. It is stated that Gwydion ap *Dôn* first taught the Welsh magic and enchantment. The Irish remained here 129 years, and yet, according to this paragraph, between *Syrigi* who was killed in the final defeat of the Irish and *Dôn*, there were fourteen generations! Gwydion seems to be still remembered in Wales as the King of the *Tylwyth Teg*, the Fairies. "His residence was among the stars and called *Caer Gwydion*. His queen was *Gwenhidw*." Wentz, *Fairy Faith*, 152-3.

any Welsh writing<sup>91</sup> outside the *Mabinogion*, and who certainly may be regarded as a late importation to the story. He came to be known as one of the sons of Dôn, and certainly as the father of the three sons, Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, and Hychtwn, which was probably his title to fame. That he was known as a son of Dôn is supported by the fact that his name occurs in French Arthurian stories as *Giflet li fieus Dou*, unless we maintain that, as is quite possible, the French romances derive part of their material directly from the *mabinogion*.

<sup>91</sup> It may be of help to give the number of references to persons mentioned in the *Four Branches*, as noted by the late Professor Anwyl (*The Poetry of the Gogynfeirdd*, p. 155) in the works of the Welsh poets of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries: *Beli*, 15; *Llyr*, 14; *Brân*, 8; *Casnar*, 7; *Dôn*, 4; *Teyrnon*, 4; *Pryderi*, 3; *Matholwch*, 2; *Dylan*, 2; *Branwen*, 1; *Gwern*, 1; *Gwydion*, 1; *Rhiannon*, 1. I have added to Anwyl's list one reference to Dylan (p. 230a) and taken away one reference to Gwydion (167b) which should not have been included.

Professor J. Lloyd-Jones, who has made an exhaustive study of the old poetry, makes the following additions to Anwyl's list, (the references are to *MA*):

*Beli*: 159b.

*Brân*: there are 4 instances on 339b and *RBP* 1313.6.

*Casnar*: 247b.

*Dylan*: (merely "sea"?) 154b, 189a, 197a (= *RBP* 1428.19), 211b (=1420.29), 226b, 248b, 249b, 279b, 287b (= *RBP* 1234.5), 307b (= *RBP* 1194.22), 308a (= *RBP* 1195.33), 308a (= *RBP* 1196.7), 309a (= *RBP* 1198.28), 332a (= *RBP* 1222.30) and *RBP* 1177.4 (omitted from *MA* 289b).

*Llyr*: 205a, 293b, 297a, 297b, 298a, 327b (= *RBP* 1311.37), 328a, 331a (? *clyr*), 332a, 336a (*bis*); and *RBP* 1260.7, 1314.4, 1345.21.

*Pryderi*: 159b.

*Teyrnon*: 146b, 166a, (=172b=*RBP* 1439.35), 161a, 201a. Cf. also *RBP* 1051.39.

In that case, there is no proof that he is one of the regular sons of Dôn.<sup>92</sup> In the romances he is an important knight of the Round Table, but he has no special story attached to him except that in *La Mort roi Artus* he is the last of Arthur's knights left alive, and it is to him that the king entrusts the sword Excalibur.<sup>93</sup>

§141. As to his name, it is to be noted that the MSS are somewhat uncertain of its exact form. *WB* has *Cilfathwy*, and *Gilfathwy*, while *RB* has *Cilfaethwy* and *Gilfaethwy*. Like some other Welsh names,<sup>94</sup> it seems to contain as a first element the Irish *gilla* "servant," and as the name would then mean "the servant of Maethwy or Mathwy," it is difficult not to connect the second element with the name of Math vab Mathonwy. If so, he appears in the story simply as the servant of Math. But how came he to be paired with Goewin, the part-mother of Llew?

<sup>92</sup> Various forms of his name are given, Giflet, Gifles, Gyflet, Gyrflës, Giflez, etc. His father is Do, Don, Doon, Dos, "le castelain de Carduel," and his sister is Lore or Lorete (?= *Flor, Florete*). See indices to *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*. It may be of use to those unacquainted with the French versions to point out that most of their Arthurian personages are known in the Welsh tales, and in Welsh poetry, e.g. *Ywains li fiex du roi vrien* (Owein vab Urien); *Kex* (Cei); *Yders li fiex Nut* (or *Nuz*) (Edern vab Nudd); *Magloas*, (Maelwas); *Karadels* (or *Carados*) *bries bras*, (Caradawg Vreichvras), etc.

<sup>93</sup> If my supposition, as found in this study, is correct, namely that Gilvaethwy came into the family of Dôn during the evolution of *Math*, and that he was originally merely the Unfaithful Wife's lover, then this should be proof of the dependence of French Arthurian Romance on Welsh traditions as developed in Wales.

<sup>94</sup> Such as *Gilmin*, the legendary founder of the family of Glynllifon, which is the manor of the *Math* district. See Rhys *CF* 545. As late as 1320-40 a man called *Gillabrydi* held land in Anglesey. *Tribal System*, p. 41 of Appendix.

§142. We have seen that Math, who was originally the Helping Druid, has become the King-Grandfather. After this first change, there seems to have been a "general post" all round. Someone had to be cast for Math's old rôle, and it was more than natural that that person should be one who was himself famed as a magician, namely Gwydion. Gwydion then relinquishes the part of Llew's father, though as we have seen, the scribes forgot to make all the necessary alterations, and becomes the Helping Druid. A vacancy was now created in the position of father, and a name suggested itself which, though, as far as we know, undistinguished in legend, yet happened by its sound, and probably by its history, to suggest a connection with *Math*, and Gilvaethwy finally becomes Llew's father. It is indeed not unlikely that he first of all belonged to a different version of the story which we shall later name the *Nantlleu* version, and that he never at any time was paired with Arianrhod, but was the mate of Goewin, and that the *Nantlleu* version was a result of contamination with the *Unfaithful Wife*. But the proof of such a supposition, apart from its superficial probability, cannot be found in existing Welsh documents. We shall, later, inquire how he came to be connected with Math, and what his original rôle was.<sup>95</sup> It will be there suggested that in the unrelated legend of the *Unfaithful Wife*, the King's wife was named Goewin and her lover, Gilvaethwy, and that their story is partly represented in the account of Gronwy Bevr's intrigue with Blodeuwedd and partly in the account of the punishment of Gwydion and Gilvaethwy. It may be that in the *Unfaithful Wife* the King, Math or Mathien, has a servant Gilvaethwy who carries on an intrigue with the King's wife, just as the servant or seneschal does in other versions of the same theme.

<sup>95</sup> See §§203 ff.

§143. The series of changes which we have just discussed may now be tabulated as follows by anticipating in some respects conclusions to be arrived at in later sections :

	<i>Grand-Father or King.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	<i>Son.</i>	<i>Father.</i>	<i>Helping-Druid.</i>
<b>A. IRISH SOURCES.</b>	Balor	Ethnea	Lugh	{ Gavida Cian MacKin- ealy	Mathgen Bark an Tra Biroge
<b>B. WELSH SOURCES.</b>					
1st ...	Beli	Arianrhod	Lleu	Gwydion	Math
2nd ...	Beli } Pebin }	Goewin Arian- rhod }	Lleu	Gil- vaethwy Gwyd- ion }	Math
3rd ...	Pebin	Goewin Arian- rhod }	Lleu	Gil- vaethwy }	Gwyd- ion Math }
4th ...	Math	Arianrhod	Llew	Gil- vaethwy	Gwydion



PART IV.  
SUBSIDIARY THEMES IN *MATH*

§144. In the history of Llew and of Math, in the form in which it is now found, there are many subsidiary incidents which require separate consideration. These are roughly of three kinds, viz.,

- (A). Elaborations of incidents which were common to Irish and Welsh sources.
- (B) Incidents which must have existed in the Irish sources, but are now only found in *Math*.
- (C) Incidents introduced into *Math* which have no counterpart in Irish sources, and which are no part of the original theme.

Some of the stories included in the above three classes are embedded in *Math*, partly in the *Math-Llew* portion, and partly in the *Llew-Blodeuwedd* portion, such as, for instance, the changing of Gwydion and Gilvaethwy into animals. These will require separate treatment, as they cannot be properly understood until we have disentangled the second part of the Mabinogi from the first. We shall now proceed to (A), (B), and (C) above, using the classification merely as a guide to the order of treatment.

### *Dylan.*

§145. Next to the condition of the King's well-being, that he should have his feet on a virgin's lap, the most obscure section of *Math* is the description of the birth of Dylan and Llew. When Math tested Arianrhod to see if she was a virgin, she gave birth to a fine golden-haired boy, Dylan. Before she went out she left behind her "some small thing of herself," which the watchful Gwydion, presumably knowing all about it, snatched up before anyone could get another glimpse of it, and hid in a chest. This "little thing" in time developed, or was incubated, into Llew Llaw Gyffes. The account



seems to be a composite and complex mixture of many traditions of different qualities and different origins. It is partly an adaptation of two concurrent stories of the birth-legend of Llew; partly a badly recollected incident of the original theme common to the Irish and Welsh forms; partly a reminiscence of primeval and savage belief; and it may be, partly a trace of a once widely spread Twin Cult.

§146. There is probably in the incident of the Twin Birth of Dylan and Llew enough material to provide a study which would in itself exceed the length of the present work. Whether we look upon it as an instance of the Twin legend, or as an example of the savage ritual of the placenta, or as a story of the Child committed to the Sea, it bristles with interesting points. But we are mainly concerned with finding out to what original incident in the Math-Balor legend it corresponds, and how it came to assume its present form. It will be remembered that in *Balor on Tory Island*, Fin was helped by the Druid, Gial Duv, to climb over the wall surrounding the castle in which Balor's daughter was immured. The Druid's instructions were :

" You will go first to Balor's daughter ; she will be pleased with you and like you. After that you will see all the other women, and do you be as intimate with them as with Balor's daughter, so that they will not tell that you were in it" . . . Fin . . . did all this that Gial directed. . . . Before the year was out Gial Duv went to Fin and said, " Make ready and come with me to Tory ; if you don't, Balor will find out what happened when you were on the island, and kill his own daughter, with the twelve women and all the children." The two went to Tory that evening, and when the children were born, the women gave twelve of them to Fin in a basket, and one, Balor's grandson, by himself in a separate cloth.

Fin took his place in the boat with the twelve on his back, and one at his breast. The blanket was fastened at his throat with a *dealg* (thorn); the thorn broke (there was a great stress on it, for the weather was rough), and the twelve children fell in the water at Sruth Deilg and became seals.

In O :

The twelve women were put into a deep sleep by the Helping Fairy, while MacKinealy wooed Ethnea, Balor's daughter. At the end of nine months, Ethnea gave birth to three boys. Balor had the boys wrapped up in a sheet, and sent them to be drowned. At Port-a-Deilg, the *dealg* or thorn broke, and one of the three fell out; the servant drowned the other two. The Fairy picked up the boy who had fallen out, and gave him to MacKinealy who gave him to his brother Gavida to bring up as a smith.

§147. Of these two versions which, under different forms, preserve in Ireland the Dylan tradition, the second contains part of the Welsh account, namely that the mother gave birth to more than one child, and the former, in a disguised form, that portion of the Welsh story in which a boy, born at the same birth as Llew, went into the sea and became a fish. Both versions, however, agree on the importance of the *dealg*, which was presumably retained in the story in order to explain the two different place-names which contain the word. The basic difference is, of course, in the account of the children's mother or mothers. In *B*, Balor's daughter has only one son, the other children being the sons of the handmaidens; in *O*, the other children are the sons of Ethnea herself. *O*, however, carefully preserves the fact that there were twelve attendant women in the tower.

§148. Here again the interest of the story of Llew contained in *Math*, is that it has probably preserved traces of both versions in one and the same tale. In the *Red Book* we read :

and Math son of Mathonwy saw the placing of Gilvaethwy and Goewin to sleep together, and the driving out of the other maidens despitefully, and she was slept with against her will that night.

In the *White Book*, we have the same account except that "other" is omitted before "maidens." It will be necessary here to inquire what underlies this statement about the treatment of the other maidens. The Welsh reads :

*RB. a chymell y morynyon ereill allan yr amharchus.*

*WB. a chymell ymorynyon allan yn amharchus.*

The crucial word is *cymell*, which is regularly derived from the Latin *compello*. The modern meaning of this word, "to persuade, to urge," has become weakened, as may be seen by comparing it with its Latin original. The sense in medieval Welsh is "to compel, to force, to drive," and it is the regular contradictory to words denoting voluntary action.<sup>96</sup> It can therefore mean to "force against one's will." Now *yn amharchus*—"despitefully," is unnecessary here after *allan*; the natural statement would be that "the other maidens were driven out," as in any case the driving out was a spiteful act. I do not wish to labour a conjectural point, but it seems that there is a confusion, due to one or more copyists, in the words *ereill allan* of the *RB* which appears in the *WB* as *allan*. It is probable that an original *ereill* was corrected or altered into *allan*, and that the *RB* scribe copied both the original and the correction, and that the *WB* scribe copied only the correction. If this conjecture is right, then the original read *a chymell y morynyon ereill yn amharchus*—"and the other maidens were despitefully entreated," in exactly the

<sup>96</sup> *GC* quotes *nac o uod nac o kamell*,—"neither voluntary nor by compulsion," from the *Welsh Laws*.

manner indicated in the Irish Balor tale. These maidens would of course, if the reconstruction is correct, give birth at the same time as Llew's mother.<sup>97</sup>

However, it is not necessary to our thesis to prove that we have here the exact analogy to *B*. In *O*, Ethnea gives birth to three sons, two of whom are drowned and the other, Lugh, rescued. In *Math*, Arianrhod gives birth to two sons, one of whom as soon as he was christened Dylan, "went to the sea, and straightway, as soon as he came to the sea, he got the nature of the sea, and as well did he swim as the best fish in the sea; and for that reason he was called Dylan Eil Ton (Dylan Like-a-Wave, or Dylan Mate of the Wave); no wave ever broke under him."

§149. Besides this correspondence, there is certainly in the name *Dylan* a reminiscence of the "thorn" story of the Irish tales; or, alternatively, the *delg* of the Irish tale was introduced to explain some name which appears in Welsh in the form *Dylan*. *Delg* actually has a Welsh equivalent in *dala*, "a sting or prick,"<sup>98</sup> just as Irish *bolg* is related to the

<sup>97</sup> A story in which the heroine and the attendant maidens are made pregnant in their sleep is given in *Beside the Fire*, p. 135.

<sup>98</sup> *mal dala cleheren ym tostes yr hayarn gwenwynic*, "like the sting of a gadfly has the poisonous steel burnt me," *Kulhwch ac Olwen*, *WB*, 239. The word has gone out of use unless indeed it is the correct form of the Welsh name for the stinging-nettle. In dialect Welsh this name is *dalan poethion* (Gwynedd) and *dale* (Dyved); *poethion* is the plural of *poeth*, "hot." *Dalan* is generally taken as a metathesis of *danal*, a corruption of *danadl*, which is however a mere ghost-word. Now *danal* for *danadl* would be quite regular in the Gwentian dialect, which, like Irish, makes an original Keltic *atl* or *adl* into *al*, e.g. *anal* (Irish *andl*) for the standard *anadl*, from *anatlo-*, but the Northern dialects preserve an original *tl*, as, for instance, *chwedl*, *cenedl*, *anadl*; so that *danal* in Gwynedd cannot represent *danadl*. Further, the name of the plant in Medieval Welsh and in the Southern dialects, shows no sign of this *l*, but is always *danad*, e.g. :

*Yr aelwyd hon neu cud dynat,*

"This hearth the nettle covers." (*RBP* 13; *FAB* 272).

It is therefore clear that we have here two distinct and unconnected forms *danad* and *dalan*, the second being related to *dala* and the Irish *delg*.

Welsh *bola*. Whether the name *Dylan* grew within this particular story or was adopted into it from the name of *Maen Dylan*,<sup>99</sup> "the rock of Dylan," which is a submerged shelf off the village of Clynnog in Arvon and in the district of *Math*, it is difficult to decide. We must be content with a simple statement of the facts as we know them :

- (1) The child born at the same birth or at the same time as Lugh in the Irish stories is associated with the word *delg*.
- (2) From this word is derived *delgán*,<sup>300</sup> the name of a species of fish. This word, if borrowed into Welsh, in the early period of the usual Irish borrowings would have given *delian*, *dylian*, and possibly, *dylan*.
- (3) Near the scene of the legend of Llew in Wales is *Maen Dylan*.
- (4) Near the scene of the Irish legend are *Port-na-Deilg* and *Sruth-Deilg*, both explained in the story by the incident of the *delg*, "thorn" or "pin."
- (5) In both legends, Welsh and Irish, Llew's brothers are associated with the sea. In the Irish, they are drowned; in the Welsh his brother becomes a fish-man, probably a merman.

<sup>99</sup> "The only trace of Dylan I could find was in the name of a small promontory, called variously by the Glynllifon men Pwynt Maen Tylen, which was Solomon's pronunciation, and Pwynt Maen Dulan. It is also known, as I was given to understand, as Pwynt y Wig; I believe I have seen it given in maps as Maen Dylan Point." Rhŷs, *CT*, p. 210. *Cymru* (Owen Jones), I, 324 is more definite and mentions both the stone (*maen*) and the promontory,— "less than a mile and a half to Cor Beuno, that is, Clynnog Church, there is a small cape extending into the sea, on which, a little below the tide-line, there is a great stone called Maen Dylan, from which the cape is called Pwynt Maen Dylan." This cape is so named on the Ordinance Maps.

<sup>300</sup> Dinneen, *Irish-English Dictionary*, gives " *dealgán deamhain* (prop. *dealgán donn*), m., a small thorny fish." *Deamhain* is genitive of *deamhan* "demon," politely used for *diabhal*, "devil"; *donn* is "brown."

- (6) Drowning of the children, generally Fion's playmates, is a persistent feature of the *CF* group.

§150. We cannot leave one important question unanswered ; in this account of Llew's brother or brothers which is the more likely to be the older form of the legend, the simple drowning, as in Irish, or the transformation into a sea-being as in Welsh ? The Irish legend, if it ever had any distinguishing marks, has certainly lost them all, with the exception of the curious insistence on the significance of the *delg*, whereas the Welsh contains elements which relate it to many tales current in Wales itself and in other countries.

*Y Fôr-Forwyn.*

§151. That an independent tradition of Dylan has been preserved in the locality of *Math* is proved by the curious tale of Glasynys called *Y Fôr-Forwyn*, "the Mermaid."<sup>1</sup> Glasynys (1828-1870) was a native of Rhostryvan, which is in the parish of Llandwrog, and spent some time at school in Clynnog : he had therefore ample opportunities to collect local folk-lore. He was a litterateur rather than a scholar, and his folk-tales owe much of their charm to his own imagination, but it is becoming more and more evident that he invented none of them, but on the other hand often retained many original incidents which he did not understand, and which he therefore failed to incorporate organically into his tale.<sup>2</sup> In his main story<sup>3</sup> he has mentioned that the hero, Ivan Morgan, met with his adventure in Deio's Cave. In the middle, he has added, somewhat incoherently :

Now let us turn for a moment to the story of Deio. He too was one who had been able to attract the attention

<sup>1</sup> *Cymru Fu*, pp. 434-444.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys mentions one important incident of this kind, (*CF* 123-4), namely the Mermaid's cap which must be hidden if her husband is to keep her ashore with him.

<sup>3</sup> A full summary in English is given in *CF*, 117-123.

of one of the Mermaids, and he went to live with them to their country, and was there called *Dylan* : and there he remained, never coming nearer the land of his fathers than the stone called by his name, that is *Maen Dylan*, and in Llanfeuno [Clynnog] the stone remains to be seen to this day.

The main story is concerned with the wooing and winning of the mermaid Nevyn<sup>4</sup> by Ivan Morgan. They were married and had a numerous family, and one day husband and wife went for a visit to the realm under the wave. After their departure the eldest son, Nevydd, discovered that his mother was a mermaid and died of shame. When his sister Eilonwy saw that he was dead,

she went to the sea-shore and threw herself in. But she was not drowned ; there came a handsome knight riding a splendid horse and raised her up to him on his horse, and then rode at great speed along the surface of the sea, galloping over the waves, as the horses of our country do when hunting. . . . Said the second son, Tegid Morgan, . . . " If no message comes here to-night, we must bury Nevydd, and this is what we will do ; we will take him to low water, and it will be strange if someone does not come and fetch him so that he may be buried with mother's family." But about midnight a messenger, namely a knight, came to tell them that the funeral would be that morning at three o'clock ; but that their brother would return to them . . . and that their sister Eilonwy was to be married soon to one of the handsomest and bravest knights of the Gwerddonau Llions ; that their father and mother were with Gwynn ab Nudd in the depths, and that Gwydion ab Dôn would meet the funeral and turn all to joy by giving a new heart to Nevydd Morgan which could not break under the weight of the whole round world. . . . At three o'clock the coffin was taken to the sea-shore ; . . . no sooner did a wave touch the coffin than the lid opened of itself, and Nevydd jumped out of it *like a porpoise out of the water*. Then Gwydion ab Dôn was seen to walk arm-in-arm with him to a ship that was awaiting a little way off. To it they went, and those ashore never heard such sweet music. The ship sailed away, and it went over the waves touching only the tops.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Nevyn is the name of an ancient borough on the coast of Caernarvonshire, a few miles south-west of Clynnog.

<sup>5</sup> " The Meadows of Llion," a name for *Tir fo thuinn*, the " Land under the Wave." <sup>6</sup> *Cymru Fu*, 440-1.

§152. References to Dylan in the old poetry are fairly common :

*Bet tedei tad awen.  
Yg godir brin aren.  
Ynyd vna ton tolo.  
Bet dylan llan beuno*<sup>7</sup>

“The grave of Tydái Tad Awen on the border of Bryn Aren. Where the wave makes a moan, the grave of Dylan in Llan Beuno.”

In the *Kat Godeu* already noticed, the author says :

*Neu bum yn yscor  
Gan dylan eil mor.*<sup>8</sup>

“I have been in a fortress with Dylan Like-the-Sea.”

In *Mab Gyfreu Taliessin*, the author propounds some difficult questions and among them :

*Pan yw gofaran  
Twrwf tonneu wrth lan.  
Yn dial dylan.*<sup>9</sup>

“Whence the angry noise of the waves on the shore avenging Dylan?”

In *Kadeir Teyrnnon*, in the middle of what is to me unintelligible :

*Tohit gwanec tra gro.  
Tir dylan dirbo.*<sup>10</sup>

“The wave makes a covering over the gravel of the Land of Dylan . . . (?).”

<sup>7</sup> *FAB*, ii. 28. *BBC*, 63. Llan Beuno is Clynnog.

<sup>8</sup> *FAB*, ii. 142. *BT*, 26.

<sup>9</sup> *FAB*, ii. 145. *BT*, 27.

<sup>10</sup> *FAB*, ii. 157. *BT*, 35.



*Marwnad Dylan eil Ton.*

§153. The most important contribution of the old poetry to the history of Dylan is his *Marwnad* or Elegy, attributed to Taliesin, and in *BT*, immediately following the *Marwnad* of "Corroi m.Dayry" which is Welsh for *Conrói m.Dairi*, a late genitival form of the name of a well-known personage in Irish story, *Cúrói mac Dairi*. It has never been studied in detail, and it will therefore be necessary to scrutinise carefully the readings. I give here an amended version, with explanations below :<sup>11</sup>

(*Vn duw uchaf  
dewin doethaf  
mwyhaf a ued)  
py delis mas  
pwy ae swynas  
yn llaw tryuer ?  
neu gynt noc ef  
pwy uu tan nef  
ar redyf gefel ?  
gwrthrif gwastrawt  
gwenwyn waewawr  
gweith gwythloned,  
gwanu dylan  
adwythic lann  
treis yn hytyruer,  
ton iwerdon  
a thon aruon  
a thon ogled.  
a thon prydein  
toruoed virein  
yn pedwarded.*

<sup>11</sup> For the method of dealing with the Taliesin poems, students of old Welsh poetry owe infinite gratitude to Sir John Morris-Jones, whose *Taliesin* concentrates in a treatise on a single and comparatively restricted subject a vast accumulation of knowledge.

(*Golychaf tat*  
*duw douydat*  
*gwlat heb omed ;*  
*creawdyr celi*  
*an kynnwys ni*  
*yn trugared).*<sup>12</sup>

“(The only God on high, wisest seer, greatest is his realm). Who held the heated iron, who shaped it by magic to be a three-pointed spear for the hand ? Before him, who under heaven had the skill of the tongs ? Expectant-to-receive (*gwrthrif*) him, the serving-man of the poisoned spears,—a hateful deed it was to pierce Dylan on that fatal shore with cruelty of mighty spear-thrust,—were the wave of Ireland, and the wave of Arvon, and the wave of the North, and, as a fourth, the wave of Prydein. (Without stint, I praise God the father, the father-lord of his realm, the creator of heaven, who will receive us in his mercy).”

<sup>12</sup> *FAB*, ii. 198. *BT*, 67.

*Notes to Marwnat Dylan Eil Ton.*

ll.1-3 & 22-7, are the conventional opening and closing of such a poem as this, and are probably additions by a monkish copyist.

l.4. The MS. reads, *Py delis maes* which makes the line too long, as *maes* is dissyllabic. The rhyme requires *-as*.

l.6. The rhyme in the MS. reading is faulty here, as *trahael* can neither rhyme nor form a “proest,” with *-al*. A dissyllabic word in *-er*, *-el*, or *-edd* is required, and *tryuer*, which is here suggested for *trahael* fulfils the requirements both as to sense and form.

l.8. MS. reads *pwv uu tagnef*, i.e. in modern spelling, *pwv fu tangnef*. *Tangnef* means “peace,” and makes no sense.

l.11. MS. reads *gwenwyn a wnaeth*, so that the rhyme is faulty and either *gwastrawt* must be amended or *a wnaeth* should be changed to *aruaeth* “intention,” but even then there is no rhyme. I have retained *gwastrawt* and emended *a wnaeth* to *waewawr*. Prof. Lloyd Jones suggests *waewnawt*, (Cf. *MA* 310a=*RBP*, 1245.21). *Gwrthrifad* is a claimant for an estate in an action for recovery.

l.17. MS. reads *a thon vanaw*, which destroys the rhyme, and must be rejected. *Manaw* (Isle of Man) was probably substituted for *aruon*, as forming a natural series with the other names.

l.12. MS. reads *golychafi*, a quite usual intrusion of the pronoun *i*, which, of course, makes the line too long.

§154. We see in this poem the usual legend of the death of Dylan at the hands of a smith, as indicated in the triad quoted in *Math* itself, and of the waves mourning his death. This latter part of the legend of Dylan occurs fairly frequently in Welsh poetry of the second period, that of the so-called *Gogynfeirdd*; for instance, Llywelyn Vardd speaks of Bardsey:

*O dy llanw a llif a llef dylann*<sup>13</sup>

"From the flood and the stream and the cry of Dylan."

Einion ab Gwalchmai describes a wave:

*Oet hydyr am dylan gwynuan genthi*<sup>14</sup>

"Loud was its mourning for Dylan."

Hywel ab Owein Gwynedd describes his lady:

*. . . lliw tonn dylann*<sup>15</sup>

"The hue of Dylan's wave."

The tradition of Dylan's connection with a sea transformation of some kind is abundantly established, though the particular legend in *Math* does not seem to occur elsewhere. What is represented in the old poetry, taken in conjunction with the triad quoted in the text of *Math*,<sup>16</sup> may be set down as follows:

- (1) Dylan's epithet is *Eil Ton*, "like-a-wave," or *Eil Môr*, "like-the-sea." The word *eil* may be also rendered, metaphorically, "son."
- (2) He was a merman, or at least, had the "nature of the sea."
- (3) He was assistant to a smith who made a poisoned spear and who killed him with it.
- (4) That smith was, according to *Math*, Govannon vab Dôn, his uncle.

<sup>13</sup> *MA*, 250a.

<sup>14</sup> *MA*, 230a.

<sup>15</sup> *MA*, 197a.

<sup>16</sup> Which is probably a gloss on the text.

- (5) The locale of the story is Llan Veuno, or Clynnog, where *Maen Dylan* still exists as a name.
- (6) The moan of the waves is their mourning for Dylan.

§155. All this points to a time when Dylan's legend was independent of his history as the brother of Llew Llaw Gyffes; when, in fact, he was a much more important personage than he appears to be at present. On the other hand, it is significant that parts of his lost legend seem embedded in the Irish tales as well as in *Math*, though there seems no reason to suppose that his story had taken such a definite form in Ireland as in Wales. One is, therefore, tempted to the conclusion that the attachment of the sea-divinity Dylan to the legend of Llew, and the identification of him as a twin-brother or half-brother of Llew, show a further development among the Irish of Arvon than among the Irish of Ireland; but such an assumption is too uncertain a foundation on which to build any superstructure. All that we are certain of at present is that this important figure in Welsh mythology was, though much more indefinitely than in Wales, attached to the Lugh legend in Ireland.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Lai of Tydorel.*

§156. If we turn from the particular to the general, that is from the personal history of a mythological Dylan for whom the waves mourn, to the accounts of the kind of sea-birth that is described in *Math*, we find many analogies in Celtic and other folklore and tales. We have already given the Welsh legend which Glasynys has preserved.<sup>18</sup> A close analogy to that story is the *lai* of *Tydorel*,<sup>19</sup> of which the following is a summary:

<sup>17</sup> I am reminded by Prof. R. H. S. Macalister's article (See note 76 to §93) that Diodorus Siculus (iv. 56) "reports a statement to the effect that the Celts living near the Ocean worshipped the Dioscuri most of all the gods." <sup>18</sup> See §152 above.

The king was at Nantes, and had gone hunting, leaving the queen in the orchard. To her came a handsome knight who said that he loved her. He took her on his horse and rode off. They came to a lake and plunged in. Before taking her back he told her that she would have four children by him, the eldest being named Tydorel. She was commanded not to ask him anything at all about his name and his country.

*Li termes vint, li filz fu nez  
Et bien norriz et bien gardez;  
Tydorel le firent nomer  
En droit baptesme et apaler.*

Tydorel grew up, and the strange knight often came to visit the queen and a daughter was born to them. After the king's death Tydorel became king, and his mother was forced to tell him of her adventure with the strange knight, whom she now never saw. As soon as Tydorel heard this, he donned his arms, mounted his horse, and plunged into the lake, and was never seen again :

*Poignant en est au lai venuz,  
Et plus parfont s'est enz feruz;  
Illec remest, en tel manière  
Que puis ne retorna arière  
Cest conte tiennent a verai  
Li Breton qui firent le lai.*

### *Coimpert Concobuir.*

§157. In the *Coimpert Concobuir*<sup>20</sup> from Ireland :

Then the maiden gave birth to the child that was in her womb. . . Then he [the child] went head over heels towards the river Conchobur, and the river went over his back, until Cathbad seized him, and he was called after the name of the river.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Edited by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 67, ff.

<sup>20</sup> *RC*, VI, 181.

<sup>21</sup> There are, of course, hundreds of examples of the theme, where an illegitimate or unwanted child is put into a barrel and cast into the sea. Cf. *The Champion of the Red Belt*, in Larminie's *West Irish Folk-tales*, p. 85.

Bearing in mind that there is a strong presumption that Arianrhod, Dylan's mother, was in one form of her story, a Lady of the Sea, a Queen of the Other-world under the waves, we may see in the more particularised version in *Math* a theme which ever recurs in folklore and which is well exemplified in *Y Fôrforwyn* and *Tydorel*, namely the return of a sea-fairy's child to his own element. In that case, we may assume that an original form of the birth story in which the twin is drowned has attracted to itself another and similar story which was in Wales already current about Arianrhod, the Sea-Fairy.

*The Birth of Llew and Dylan.*

§158. The main incidents of this account are as follows :

- (i) The virginity of Arianrhod is tested by making her step over a magic wand.

No better commentary on this incident can be made than by quoting Hartland's words : " The bridal custom of jumping on or over a stone has been so fully examined by Mr. William Crook,<sup>22</sup> that it need not be further discussed here. In a note to his paper he alludes to the story of Arianrhod the daughter of Dôn in the *Mabinogion*. In that story the maiden was made to step over a magical wand, with the result that two boys were born. The wand possessed fertilising power, though the incident seems to be regarded as a test of chastity. Whether or no the story-teller misunderstood it, it is not clear ; but a similar power is found ascribed in somewhat more than a jocular fashion to a broom-stick in some parts of England. Mr. Addy, speaking apparently of Yorkshire and the adjacent country, says " If a girl strides over a besom-handle, she will be a mother before she is a wife. If an unmarried woman has a child people say—'She's jumped o'er t'besom, . . .'

<sup>22</sup> *FL*, xiii, 226.

The broomstick is an obvious symbol, such as would exactly fit the purposes of mimetic magic.”<sup>23</sup> The learned author gives many more examples of the same kind, all tending to show that there is little doubt that the use of the magic wand in *Math* as a chastity test is secondary, and absolutely contradicts popular belief. Indeed, we have in Arianrhod’s story sufficient evidence to warrant a supposition that the original intention of the wand was not to test but to fertilise. It will be recollected that, owing to the fusion of the two versions which we have called respectively the *Din Lleu* and the *Nant Lleu* versions, the question of Llew’s paternity is left in great obscurity, and it is plain that the last redactors had no opinion at all on the matter, having lost the clue to the puzzle.

§159. Now here comes the first redactor to deal with the story after the fact has been lost that Gwydion is the father of Llew. How is he going to explain the birth of the twins without a father? He has recourse to an old folk belief of the potency of a broom-stick, and *a fortiori* of the magic wand of Math, as a procreative agent, and *he makes Arianrhod give birth to the twins because she has stepped over the wand.*

Next comes a second redactor, who makes the vital change of using the wand as a chastity-test; an obvious and natural change, as it was vital to *Math* that he should be quite certain of the virginity of his foot-holder. But, after making the change, this redactor and his successors left in the text sufficient proofs of the original purpose. (a) Gwydion sends for Arianrhod in all confidence as possessing the necessary qualification for the post. (b) When *Math* questions Arianrhod whether she is a virgin she answers, “I know not but that I am,” that is to say, “no man has had intercourse with me within my knowledge.” (c) When Gwydion takes Arianrhod’s child to his mother, she is exceedingly indignant, because

<sup>23</sup> *Primitive Paternity*, I, 133-4.

Gwydion "pursues her shame" in this way. Gwydion makes it quite clear that the shame she means is not losing her virginity, but having a child. (d) He further emphasizes this by saying, "Now you will never more be called a maiden," a taunt which has no meaning as applied to an unmarried woman who has had a child, because not being called a maiden is a very minor matter, but has much force when said to a woman who of her own will and knowledge did not jeopardise her virginity.

§160. We may then at this stage formulate our conclusions as far as we have proceeded, giving the successive stages of the story thus :

- (1) Two versions in which,
  - (a) Goewin is raped and becomes Llew's mother.
  - (b) Arianrhod is raped and becomes Llew's mother.
- (2) The versions are fused :
  - (a) Goewin is raped.
  - (b) Arianrhod becomes Llew's mother.
- (3) There being no explanation of Llew's paternity in 2, Arianrhod is made to become a mother by stepping over a magic wand.
- (4) The magic wand becomes finally the test of Arianrhod's virginity, but conversations and incidents appropriate to Stage 3 are left in the text.

§161. To return to the main incidents :

- (ii) She gives birth to a fine golden-haired boy who is baptized Dylan, and who takes to the sea,—a reminiscence, as we have seen, of Arianrhod's other rôle as a Sea-Fairy.
- (iii) As she was moving she left "some small thing of her behind her." This Gwydion immediately snatched up, put in a small chest at the foot of his bed, and in time took out as a strongly grown boy.



This extraordinary incident is by no means so difficult as it appears at first sight. It would probably be too fanciful to see in this double birth an attempt to fuse the two birth versions already noticed, namely the one birth following on procreation by Gwydion, and the second, a magic birth, the result of stepping over the wand. In that case, the first birth, the normal one, would represent Gwydion's activity, and the second, the mysterious and abnormal birth, that of the magic wand. Such an explanation is not precluded, and it may even have been present in the mind of one of the redactors, if indeed there ever was a redactor who was conscious of Gwydion's importance, once his original part had been omitted from the *cyvarwyddyd*. But, on the other hand, we have had ample evidence that the story of the twin birth was an essential feature of both the Irish and the Welsh stories. It is indeed, a distinguishing mark of the group *BOM*, as against the group *CF*, which in other respects is so different. It is therefore of some importance in the Lugh legend. Two questions seem to arise: what is the significance, first of the twin birth, and secondly of the second twin being incubated from "some small thing" of the mother?

(a) *The Twin-birth.*

§162. The twin-birth in *Math* is clearly associated with the sea. We have seen how part of the sea-legend is probably due to Arianrhod's character, but there already existed in widely spread popular belief a close connection between twins and the sea. The investigation of this fact is in the province of the folklorist, but a short statement of the matter will be necessary before we can proceed further:<sup>24</sup>

(a) Twins are regarded with aversion by primitive man; and if not with aversion, with reverence and fear.

<sup>24</sup> For much of my information I am indebted to Dr. Rendel Harris's *Boanerges*. I cannot, however, regard with complete satisfaction the learned author's treatment of twins as water divinities.

One of the pair was generally regarded as being the son of the mortal father, and the other as being due to connection with a spirit, god or demon.<sup>25</sup>

(b) In the stage of society which regards twins with aversion, some expiation for the offence is necessary. The twin which was regarded as being the son of the demon, generally the eldest, was drowned.

(c) Twins therefore became associated with the sea. In some countries a twin is regarded as being a salmon, and to have control over the fishing.<sup>26</sup>

(d) To have had twins is among most primitive peoples a disgrace upon the mother.

The above facts suggest an explanation why both in *Math* and in the other versions, the association of Llew's twin brother with the sea has been retained. Apart from any reminiscences in Wales of Arianrhod as a sea-goddess, popular traditions about twins were sufficient to preserve the drowning or the turning into a fish of one of the pair. I refrain from pursuing the other analogies suggested by the above table, as it is outside the scope of this work.

(b) *Rhyw Bethan.*

§163. What was the "little thing of herself" which Arianrhod left behind her, which was so carefully tended by Gwydion? A curious analogy to the whole incident is preserved in the Irish story of Cairbre:<sup>27</sup>

Three sons were born to Caibre, and they [or rather two of them] were drowned together by his orders, for it appears that they were monsters, because they were born helmeted. The same thing was attempted in the case of the third son; two of the king's men were charged to go with him to throw him into the billows' mouths.

<sup>25</sup> Thus of the Castor-Pollux pair, Castor was regarded as the son of Tyndareus and Pollux as the son of Zeus; collectively they were called *Dioscuri*, "boys of Zeus."

<sup>26</sup> *Boanerges*, 143. We are reminded here of the curious "salmon of knowledge" additions in some of the *F* versions.

<sup>27</sup> The summary is given in Rhŷs's words, *HL*, 310.

But as soon as they cast the boy from them into the sea, the billow broke his helmet, so that they beheld his face on its ridge. . . . "What shall we do with the boy?" said one of the men. "We shall do thus," said the other; "we shall leave him in a box on the top of the stone of the smith's door—that is Móen's, the smith of the king—and we shall keep watch over the child to see whether the smith will take to it." When the latter came forth from his house he saw the child in the box, and he proceeded to carry it into the house. . . . The child was brought up by Móen as his own.

§164. We have seen that Gwydion seems to correspond to Gávida the smith of the Irish legend, and this lends point to the close resemblance between the story of Cairbre's son and that of Llew. In order to see the significance of the box, a comparison of all the stories already quoted is necessary. We have five possible forms :

- A. The mother leaves a "small thing" of herself which is carefully hidden by the smith in a box. This "small thing" becomes in time the hero. *Math*.
- B. The child is born "helmeted," that is, with the "small thing" attached to him. He is put in a box in the smith's house. *Cairbre*.
- C. The hero is born normally, but is hidden in a box or a hole in a tree by the smith or the carpenter, in some versions by Goban Saor himself. *F1, F2, F6, F7*.
- D. The child is born normally, and is deserted by his mother. *B1, B2, O, L, F4, F5*.
- E. The hero is born normally, and there is no reference to the hiding, though the smith may be mentioned in the story. *C, F3*.

It is, on the evidence, fair to assume that the form of the legend which we have called A stands at one extreme, and E at the other. On general grounds we have seen that *Math* agrees mostly with the *BOL* versions, but in this particular it is most unlike them. The question then that we must ask is this,—

if A and E are the extremes, are we to regard C as the normal from which the two sets of versions, A and E, have diverged in different directions, E by omitting altogether the incident of the hiding of the child, and A by giving it a new importance, making it a kind of incubation of a child prematurely born? If so, does B—the Cairbre story—represent an intermediate stage in the divergence towards one extreme?

§165. In order fully to grasp the meaning of the A version, we must unfortunately leave Celtic material, and seek an explanation in primitive belief and practice. This very fact suggests that *Math* has preserved, though perhaps in a distorted form, a trait which goes back to a stage of human development immeasurably anterior to that reflected in the final forms of the legend. Indeed, so ancient and unfamiliar is most of Dylan's story, that its existence in some form or other in the folklore of almost any nation may be conjectured by the varied beliefs which have arisen concerning doubtful births. It will be sufficient to indicate a typical example of these beliefs. "It has been conjectured that in stories like that of the exposure of the infant Moses on the water we have a reminiscence of an old custom of testing the legitimacy of children by throwing them into the water and leaving them to swim or sink, the infants which swam being accepted as legitimate and those which sank being rejected as bastards. . . Thus the Celts are said to have submitted the question of the legitimacy of their offspring to the judgment of the Rhine."<sup>28</sup> We can best get some light on this difficult part of *Math*, by concentrating on the less extreme form of the story presented by the account of Cairbre's birth.

§166. Cairbre was born "with a cap on his head." The phrase is not unknown in other languages. "*Etre né coiffé*" is a proverb in the French language signifying birth under

<sup>28</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, (Abridged Edition), p. 268-9.

fortunate auspices, and the phenomenon occurs when the child is born enveloped in the caul (perhaps a rare event) so as to cover the head.<sup>29</sup> There is a vast store of tradition concerning the caul, or "silly how" : children born with a part of the placenta adhering to their heads are generally regarded as lucky. On the other hand, it is sometimes regarded as a reflection on the mother's virtue. Thus Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* speaks of a "silly jealous fellow, that seeing his child new born included in a kall, thought sure a Franciscan that used to come to his house was the father of it." But the most interesting feature of this tradition is the belief that it is regarded as an infallible preservative against drowning. Advertisements of the following kind used to be fairly common : "To the gentlemen of the Navy, and others going long voyages to sea. To be disposed of, a child's caul. Enquire at the Bartlett Buildings Coffee House in Holborn. N.B. To avoid unnecessary trouble the price is Twenty Guineas."<sup>30</sup> We shall return later to this superstition.

§167. It seems then fairly clear that the *rhyw bethan* which Arianrhod dropped was the placenta, or after-birth, and ample confirmation of this explanation is afforded by savage custom ; of the hundreds of examples given by the anthropologists, a few will suffice. The natives of Queensland believe that part of the child's spirit stays in the after-birth, and the grandmother takes the after-birth and buries it in the sand.<sup>31</sup> The Kei islanders regard the navel-string as the brother or sister of the child, and put it in a pot and set it in the branches of a tree.<sup>32</sup> The Baganda think of the placenta as a double of the child, and bury it at the root of a tree.<sup>33</sup> The islanders of Saporea

<sup>29</sup> *Faiths and Folklore*, I, 101.

<sup>30</sup> From the *London Morning Post*, Aug. 21st, 1779, quoted in *Faiths and Folklore*, I, 100. Hood in *Sea Spell* says of a sailor :

In his pouch confidingly  
He wore a baby's caul.

<sup>31</sup> *Golden Bough*, (Abridged) 39. <sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 40. <sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

solemnly cast the after-birth into the sea. It is placed in a pot and taken to the sea in a boat.<sup>34</sup> In Rotti, a small island near Timor, the navel-string is put into a small satchel made of leaves, and if the father is not himself going on a voyage, he entrusts the bag to one of his seafaring friends to throw away in the open sea.<sup>35</sup> The Magyars believe that the after-birth placed under the bed will ensure the procreation of a child of the same sex.<sup>36</sup>

§168. Arianrhod then gave birth to a normal child, Dylan ; she afterwards dropped the placenta, and Gwydion put this in a box under his bed, and in time this also became a child. We may surmise, judging from the unfortunately meagre evidence of the single story in division B that, in the original version, Dylan was born helmeted with the caul, and it was this caul which developed into the second child Llew. We can thus see some light on Cairbre's history. He, too, was born with a caul, and like his brothers, was therefore thrown into the sea. Now there is very little point in all this account of throwing the boys into the sea, if after all, one of them was rescued. What actually happened in the original story was that the third boy could not be drowned and became a fish, but the servants saved the caul and put it in a box in the smith's house. This caul became in time Cairbre, son of Móen the smith.

§169. The caul is, we have seen, regarded as an infallible preservative against drowning ; now we see the reason for it. It seems that there must have been a widely-spread belief of a twin birth, namely a male child who immediately on birth becomes a fish, and his "brother," his caul, which is rescued from the waves, wrapped up in a box, incubated, and which finally develops into a child. That anything like a complete form of this myth is only found in Celtic countries<sup>37</sup> does not necessarily disprove its one-time universal character.

<sup>34</sup> *Golden Bough*, Pt. I—Vol. I, p. 187.    <sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 191.

<sup>36</sup> *Primitive Paternity*, I, 71 note.    <sup>37</sup> As far as I know.

We may now, in the light of what has been said, set down the main facts in something like order :

(a) A child is born, probably unwanted either by the mother as in some of the *F* versions and in *Math*, or by the grandfather as in the remaining *F* versions and in *Cairbre*.

(b) This child is born helmeted in a caul (*Cairbre*).

(c) Having a caul, the child cannot be drowned.

(d) The child is thrown into the water as in most versions in divisions B, C, D, E, above, or becomes a fish, or swims like a fish as in division A. One of the *F* versions combines both and describes the child as thrown into the water, and rising to the surface clasping a salmon.

(e) The child's caul is rescued by the father (A) or by the smith (B) or by the smith-father (some of C and D and probably A), placed in a box under the bed (CA) or in a tree (C) or in the smith's house (B).

(f) In time this *rhyw bethan* in a box becomes the hero (ABC) who slays his grandfather (ACDE).

(g) The first child's name was probably *Delg*,—or some such form. He was called *Dylan* in Welsh and probably *Delg* or *Delgan* in Irish.

§170. Now, we can from the above table (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), reconstruct the story of the birth of Dylan and Llew thus :

*The daughter of the King whose life was, according to the prophecy, threatened by his grandson, gave birth, in his presence, to a boy, who was born with a caul over his head. The King ordered him to be thrown into the water, but having a caul he could not be drowned, so he "swam as well as any fish." He was baptized Dylan. Gwydion (the smith?) who was Dylan's father, and who had a grudge*

against the King, snatched up the caul, placed it in a box under his bed, and found in that box, probably in nine month's time, a fully grown child who was afterwards named Llew Llaw Gyffes by his grandfather, the King.

### *The Breaking of the Three Destinies.*

§171. One of the most charming portions of the *Mabinogion* is the description in *Math* of Gwydion's schemes to circumvent the 'Three Destinies laid on Llew by his mother. We have already seen that in the original  $\Sigma$ , the swearer of the destiny was not the mother, but the grandfather, and that of the three, the first is paralleled in nearly all the Irish and the *CF* versions, the second is implied in *C* and some of the *F* forms, and that the third is related to the wedding incident in *B2*. We shall now look a little more clearly into the details of each destiny, remembering that the Welsh forms are peculiar to *Math*, not only in substance but in the admirably graphic manner in which they are set out. Are there any grounds for supposing that the frame-work of the three stories go back to  $\Sigma$ , or at least that they are reminiscent of some feature vital to the story of Llew?

### *The First Destiny,—Name.*

§172. Gwydion took Llew for a walk along the sea between *Caer Dathal* and *Aber Menai*, and having made a ship out of sea-wrack, and leather out of sea-weed and dulse, he came to the entrance of *Arianrhod's* *Caer*. The appropriateness of sea-weed and dulse as material for leather is obvious; they were chosen, of course, on account of their leathery appearance. By the same token, we may suppose that the sea-wrack (*morwyal*, literally, "sea-withies") was chosen as appropriate for the strakes and masts. Then when he saw that they had been perceived by the people of the *caer*, he changed Llew's form and his own. *Arianrhod* inquired what men they were,



and being told that they were shoemakers, and that they were decorating their leather with gold, she sent down an order for shoes. Gwydion purposely made them first of all too large, and the second time too small, and then declared that she would have to show him her foot. Thus he induced her to come aboard the ship. "I deem it strange that thou couldst not hit the mean in making shoes to measure," said she. "I was not able," said he, "but I shall be able now," using the word *medru* which signifies both "to hit the mark" and "to be able to" ("savoir"). At that moment a wren stood on the ship, and the young man struck it and hit it (*medru*) between the sinew of his leg and the bone. "With a skilful hand (*llaw gyffes*) the lion (*llew*) struck him," said she. So he got his name *Llew Llaw Gyffes*; and that was why Gwydion was called one of the three golden shoemakers.

§173. This incident bristles with important points. First of all, there is the name itself. We have already shown that the correct form of the name is *Lleu*, which has no meaning,<sup>38</sup> standing by itself, in Welsh. Therefore in this particular place, *Llew* cannot be a mere copyist's error for *Lleu*, because if we substitute the correct *Lleu* for the incorrect form *Llew*, the sentence has no meaning. Hence this particular form of the naming incident must have arisen under one of two conditions; either it was added after one or more copyist had blundered by making *Lleu* into *Llew*, or *Lleu* was here deliberately changed into *Llew* to make the naming more plausible. In either case, the account of the naming cannot be original. If we grant the former of the two alternatives, namely that the change from *Lleu* to *Llew* was merely due to a copyist's error, then we are forced to conclude that this naming was added in substitution for another account which suited the older form; if we grant the second alternative, then we are faced by pretty nearly the same difficulty,—why change *lleu* to *llew* at all?

<sup>38</sup> Except, of course, that of "light." Cf. *go-leu* "light."

§174. The answer is, of course, that *lleu* makes no possible kind of sense in Welsh, and whatever form the naming took in the original story, it must at least have made sense, *at one period* in its development. Let us turn to the Irish parallel. In *B1*, it is simply stated that

“this grandson was a strong youth now. He was a young man, in fact, and his name was Lui Lavada (Lui Longhand). He was called Lavada because his arms were so long that he could tie his shoes without stooping.”

In *B2*, the child was so skilful in gathering apples that Balor exclaimed :

*Tog leat Lui Lavada*, (Take away with you, Little Long Hand).

So that *B1* does not attempt to explain *Lui* but only *Lavada*, and *B2* explains it by supposing that *lui* means “little.” But unfortunately *lui* does not mean “little” except by a re-formation from *lughu* (Old Irish *lugu* and *laigiú*) which is the comparative of the irregularly compared *beag*, “little,” (O.I. *becc*). The Welsh equivalent is, in its medieval form, *lleu*, which could never be mistaken for *lleu*.<sup>39</sup> We must now bear in mind two facts, (a) that the original naming of *Lleu* is significant only in Irish and (b) that the stem is found only in the comparative and in the superlative (O.I. *lugam*). The meaning of this latter fact will become clear by and by. Just now it will be sufficient to say that *Llew* in *Math* is a substitute for *lleu*, the equivalent of which in Irish could be made significant, but which could not be made significant in Welsh.

<sup>39</sup> It is necessary to explain to non-Welsh readers that *i* and *u* were absolutely distinct sounds in all parts of Wales in medieval times, as in the greater part of N. Wales to-day.

§175. To return to the story. It will be seen at once that we have here what appears at first sight to be much unnecessary embroidery, an unusual feature of the Four Branches. Thus in order to bring the youth into his mother's presence, two very definite schemes are described, namely the making of a ship and the shoemaking. It might be answered that as Arianrhod dwelt on an island, the making of the ship is one of the most natural things in the world. But surely it was unnecessary to resort to all this complicated scheming in order to bring her aboard? Why not, as would be more natural, present themselves at the gate of the Caer, as in the second Destiny of the Arms, and make the shoes in the house, rather than on board the ship? And secondly *why make the shoes at all?*—because in the present form of the story, shoemaking plays no part whatever in the naming. To deal first with the latter point: *the connection of Lleu with shoemaking was part of the immemorial tradition on which the mabinogi was founded.*

§176. We have fortunately preserved for us a clear record of the pre-Christian position of the Gaulish *Lugus*, probably only one out of many such records. In Osma in Spain, which was named in Celtic times *Uxama*, that is, "the highest town," corresponding to Welsh *uchaf*, is a Latin inscription :<sup>40</sup>

LVGOVIBVS  
SACRVM  
L.L. VRCI  
CO. COLLE  
GIO. SVTORV  
M D.D

<sup>40</sup> Hübner, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Hispaniarum*, II, 2818. See RC, VI, 488; VII, 399. HL, p. 424. Hübner comments: *quales fuerint Lugoves sutorum fortasse numina tutelaria nescimus.*

that is, *Lugovibus sacrum L.L. Urcico collegio sutorum d[on]o d[edit]*. "L.L. Urcico donated this, sacred to the Lugoves, to the guild of shoemakers," or, less probably, "this which is sacred to the Lugoves, Urcico donated for the Lugoves, (L.L.) to the guild of shoemakers."

§177. Two facts then emerge from this dedication : first that there were more gods than one associated together under the name of *Lugoves*, plural of *Lugus*, and secondly that these divinities were the tutelary deities of the shoemakers. Taking the latter fact first, we may now say that Llew was distinguished as a shoemaker, as indeed the triad already quoted proves. Further, in the triad, Gwydion has disappeared, his place being taken presumably by Caswallon, a name highly suspect as being part of what may be called the latter historico-mythical tradition which is associated with Geoffrey of Monmouth. We have no record of Caswallon as a shoemaker, but he is known as the son of Beli, and was therefore the uncle of Llew and might thus naturally oust Gwydion ; that Gwydion himself was in the original triad is proved by the reference in *Math* itself.<sup>41</sup>

§178. On this point Rhys has made what seems to me one of his numerous inspired guesses. He states that "it is hard to avoid supposing that the father and the son [i.e., Gwydion and Llew] were the Lugoves of the inscription at Osma."<sup>42</sup> That is to say, a group of father-and-son were well known in Celtic mythology as Lugoves, and as the patrons of shoemakers, and therefore probably associated in legend with particular feats of shoemaking of which the incident in *Math* is one.

<sup>41</sup> It is possible that an older version had Gwydion as the father of Llew, and Caswallon as his helping uncle. It is significant that Caswallon's epithet is *Llaw Hir*, which, in meaning, is the exact equivalent of Lugh's epithet, *Lamhfhada*.

<sup>42</sup> *HL*, p. 425.

## SS. Crispin and Crispinian.

§179. It might be profitable and interesting to trace the history of the patronage of shoemakers from pagan to Christian times. It is well known that many of the medieval saints, especially the patently non-historical ones, are ancient gods, particularly Celtic gods, re-named and re-commissioned for a new purpose. It is unnecessary to do more than mention Brân the Blessed, Dwynwen, and Dervel Gadarn from among the Welsh gods. As to the shoemakers, if they had been used to regard a pair of *Lugoves* as their patrons in pagan times, it is more than likely, indeed it is inevitable, that in Christian times the guild should be patronised by a corresponding pair of saints. Such a pair we actually find in Crispin and Crispinian, the famous twin protectors of shoemakers. The lives of these saints are found in nearly all the Latin Martyrologies, and are founded on the *Acts of SS. Crispin and Crispinian* which was probably written from popular tradition in 649.<sup>43</sup> They are described as brothers, natives of Rome, who came to Soissons to preach the gospel, and were in A.D. 284 put to death by Rictiovarus, prefect of the Gauls. There are some points in their history which might be regarded as deriving from a legend of the *Lugoves*, and the similarity of their names to the Celtic word for "shoe-maker" is perhaps suggestive.<sup>44</sup> The miracles, which attended their deaths, are as follows: (1) Spills of wood, thrust into their fingernails, started out and stabbed their tormentors. (2) They swam the river Aisne "without any inconvenience" though they had been thrown in with millstones round their necks. (3) They were thrown into molten lead, but a spurt of the lead blinded an eye of Rictiovarus. So, for what they are worth we may notice three "peculiarities" which seem

<sup>43</sup> Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, October, pt. II, p. 628; *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. XI, 535-7; Tournour, *Le mystère breton de saint Grépin et de saint Crépinien*.

<sup>44</sup> W, *crydd* for *cerŷdd*, Br. *kere*, I. *cairem*, all from a root *karpi*- cf. L. *carpisculum*. See Morris-Jones, *Welsh Grammar*, p. 125.

to underlie the legend. (a) That the brothers could not be drowned. (b) That they were hurlers of weapons like Balor and Lleu. (c) That they put out one eye of their enemy (a) may be related to the Dylan-Lleu tradition, (b) and (c) to the Lleu legend.

*St. Hugh.*<sup>45</sup>

§180. One of the most mysterious features of British hagiology is the choice of St. Hugh<sup>46</sup> as the patron of shoemakers. According to the accepted accounts, this Hugh was a Welshman, son of the King of Powys, and loved Winifred the daughter of Donwallo [Dyfnwal] King of Teginia [Tegeingl]. Being disappointed by the lady, he sold all that he had and supported himself by making shoes, just as Manawydan does in the mabinogi of that name. Of all this, Welsh tradition knows nothing, except that we may safely assume that Winifred "daughter of the King of Teginia" is St. Winifred of Holywell.<sup>47</sup> Is it possible that the *Lugus* of Celtic tradition has become the *Hugo* of Christian myth? In Deloney's *Pleasant History*, Hugh and Winifred go about together supporting themselves by making shoes, and are eventually put to death. In view of our assumption of two Lugoves, his description of them on the scaffold is significant: "When they . . . were mounted upon the scaffold, they seemed for beauty like two bright stars, *Castor* and *Pollux*."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Campion, *Pleasant and entertaining history of St. Hugh* (2nd edition), London, 1876, a work probably based on Deloney's *The Pleasant History of the Gentle Craft* (London, 1648), which in turn is derived from Caxton's *Golden Legend*. See *The Works of Thomas Deloney*.

<sup>46</sup> Distinct from St. Hugh of Lincoln who also is sometimes called the shoemakers' saint.

<sup>47</sup> These details, as proved by a reference to Pont Varry (= *Pot vary* of Lhuyd, = Bodfari) seem to be taken from Lluyd's *Breuiary of Britayne* through Deloney.

<sup>48</sup> p. 85.

§181. Let us now return to the example of skill from which Llew gets his name. He has shown none at all at shoemaking, and even Gwydion has deliberately concealed his own by making the shoes a poor fit so as to compel Arianrhod to come down to the ship to have her foot measured. She taunts Gwydion with his lack of skill (*medru*), and he answers that he will show more skill (*medraf weithon*) now. Just then the youth sees a wren alighting on board, and he hits with skill (*medru*) the bird with the awl which he held in his hand.<sup>49</sup> Bearing in mind that precisely the same word, *medru*, is used in the text for skill at shoemaking and marksmanship, we can now assert that what Arianrhod really said was something about the *medr* belonging not, as might be expected, to the elder but to the younger, “ys llawgyfes y medrawd y lleu.” But *she said this in Irish*, and the naming incident in *B2*, helps us at once to the true form of the actual naming. What she said was—“you the elder have no skill at all, but the smaller of you two (*intí as lughu*) is the dexterous-handed (*lamhchomhes*).” “You’ve done it now,” says Gwydion, “you have called him *lughu lamhchomhes*,” or whatever the equivalent to *llawgyves* was in the original tale.

§182. This does not preclude the supposition, which seems to me extremely likely, that the incident of the wren is a later addition, due to the fact that the original significance of the shoemaking had been lost. The play, as originally described, was staged by Gwydion in this manner. He first of all with his own hands cut the shoes—this is insisted on in the text, “while Gwydion shaped, the youth stitched,”—and deliberately made the shoes too large, and then, the second time, too small. “I am surprised,” said Arianrhod, “that you cannot hit the mean.” “I will do it now,” said Gwydion.

<sup>49</sup> I owe this plausible suggestion of the missile to my friend Professor Ifor Williams, whose edition of the text of the Mabinogion is eagerly awaited.

"Let us change parts, and let the youth cut the leather while I stitch." The change was made, and at the first attempt, the shoes fitted perfectly. "Ah," said Arianrhod, naturally enough, "it is the smaller (*lughu*) that has the skill."<sup>50</sup>

§183. Lleu's reputation as a spearman was probably much better known in the legend stage, into which the original mythology had developed, than his skill as a shoemaker. Indeed *Math* mentions only Gwydion as being one of the three gold shoemakers, and the presumption is that Lleu's definite association with shoemaking had been blurred in later times. But about his markmanship there was no manner of doubt; his great feat was to hurl the magic spear into Balor's eye, or in *Math* into the body of Gronwy Bevr, with such force that the stone which was placed to ward off the blow was pierced. The later *cyvarwydd* or redactor therefore introduced a second proof of *medru* which was more pleasing to his hearers as being absolutely in accordance with facts well known to them. That the original form was a proof of skill furnished by shoemaking is strongly suggested by the débris of the story in *B1*, where a confused remembrance that the name had something to do with shoes accounts for the queer statement that "his name was Lui Lavada (Lui Longhand). He was called Lavada because his arms were so long *that he could tie his shoes without stooping*."

§184. Before we leave the subject, it will be well to mention that in Ireland Lugh was famous for his skill as an artificer; not particularly in shoemaking, but in every kind of trade, whence he was called *Ildánach* "the all-craftsman." Some such story as one of the following may very well have been utilised in other and possibly forgotten versions to give him a name:

<sup>50</sup> This supposes that *Lugh* was then pronounced with a *u* quality, and not as in modern Irish with an *i* quality. The latter pronunciation has been probably affected by *Lughaidh*.



One of the principal warriors of the Tuatha Dé Danann was Lug. He resolved to fight in the ranks of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and set out for Tara. There the doorkeeper asked him who he was. "A carpenter," said Lug. "We don't want a carpenter," said the doorkeeper. "I am a smith," said Lug. "We don't want a smith," was the answer. Then Lug described himself successively as champion, harper, antiquary, necromancer, physician, cupbearer, artificer (*cerd*). But the court was well supplied with all of these. "Well then," said Lug, "ask the king if he has any one who combines *all* these arts." The king then sent for Lug and he was given the name *Sabd Ildánach*—"prince of all the sciences."<sup>51</sup>

Caesar<sup>52</sup> mentions a Gaulish God, to whom he gives the name Mercurius, who is the inventor of all the arts—*omnium inventorem artium*, and there is no doubt that Lugus was that god. But the examples we have quoted show that he was *par excellence* the god of the shoemakers.

### *Gwydion's Ship.*

§185. The second part of the problem was postponed so that the more important feature of the shoe-making might be considered; that is, why was it necessary for Arianrhod to come aboard the ship to have her foot measured, rather than summon the two shoemakers, as would be more natural, to the court? The important place given to the ship, and to the necessity that Arianrhod should come on board is due to contamination by another type of story, current in Celtic countries, which was concerned with the dealings of men who pretended that they were merchants, with a rich and beautiful lady on whom they had designs. There are two well marked versions, one of which is from an indubitably Celtic source, and the other from the *Gesta Romanorum* which is probably, for the most part, Celtic in origin.

<sup>51</sup> O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, iii, 42-3; *Irish Mythological Cycle*, 99-100; *HL*, 427; *RC*, XII, 78.

<sup>52</sup> *De Bello Gallico*, VI, 17.

§186. A. *The Ship that went to America.*<sup>53</sup>

(An long a chaidh do dh' America.)

The first part of the tale describes the bargain made with a magician by a poor man who had been wrecked on a desert island, namely to give him his first-born in return for a magic table-cloth. The magician, the old grey man,—*an seann duine liath*—brought up the child John kindly and took him to see various marvels, among them being a large brazen castle, with rooms full of gold and silver. After leaving the castle John took service with the king that was there (*righ a bha'n sin*) who threatened to hang him unless he should bring the lady of the brazen castle to him that he might marry her. The magician came to his help, and they came in sight of the castle. "Strike me with the rod (*slat*=W. *llath*)," said he, "and I shall become a ship; and you shall steer in a straight line to the front of the brazen castle, and cast anchor there, and you shall go ashore with the skiff, and keep walking about. The lady will put her head out at a window in the upper part of the castle, and ask, "Whence have you come, sailor?" It all turned out as the old man said, and to the question John answered, "from the Indies." "What cargo have you?" "A cargo of silk." "I will be obliged to you if you will bring in a good bundle of it that I may buy a dress or two." "I cannot guess," said he, "what kinds will please you; you had better go out with me on board, as the day is calm and mild." "Indeed, I do not know," said she, "but it is best for me to do so." She was a long time in the cabin choosing, and when she came on deck she found that she was a long way from her brazen castle. John carried the lady, who was herself a sorceress, to the King, but eventually married her himself, having passed all the tests through the aid given by the Helping Magician, the old grey man.

<sup>53</sup> *Folk and Hero Tales from Argyllshire*, 160–205. Similar stories, noted by Nutt, are found in Luzel, *Veillées Bretonnes*, Morlaix, 1879; Sébillot, *Contes des Marins*, Paris, 1882; Troude et Milin, *As Marvailer Brezounek*, Brest, 1870; Campbell, *TWH*, ii, 344. In the latter tale, the lady, who must be the King's bride, stays on board till far out at sea because she has been enchanted by the music.

B. *The Empress of Rome*.<sup>54</sup>

§187. The wife of Manelay, emperor of Rome, had suffered many tribulations, and much injustice at the hands of men who desired her for her beauty. She had been driven away from her own country and after many wanderings she came with a servant to a certain city. One day there came a ship full of merchandise into the haven of that city. When the lady heard this she said to her servant, "Go to the ship, and see if there be any cloth for my use." Her servant went to the ship, where he found very many fine cloths, and prayed the master of the ship that he would come to the city and speak with his lady. The master assented, and so the servant came home to his lady, and warned her of the coming of the master of the ship. Soon after the master of the ship came and saluted her courteously and the lady received him according to his degree, praying him that she might have for her money such cloth as might be profitable for her wearing. Then he granted that she should have anything that liked her, and soon they were agreed, wherefore the servant went immediately again with the master of the ship for the cloth. And when they were both within on ship-board, the master said to the lady's servant, "My dear friend, to you would I open my mind, if I might trust you, and if you help me, you shall have of me a great reward." Then answered he and said: "I shall" (quoth he), "be sworn to you to keep your counsel, and fulfil your intent as far as I can." Then said the master . . . "I love your lady . . . and if you give your help, . . . you shall have whatever you desire." Then said the servant, "Tell me by what means I may best help you?" Said the master of the ship, "Go home to your lady again, and tell her that I will not deliver to you the cloth, except she come herself; and do you but bring her to my ship, and if the wind be good and fit, then I purpose to lead her away . . . " Now when the servant had received his reward, he went again to the lady, and told her that by no means would the master of the ship deliver him the cloth, except she came to him herself. The lady believed her servant, and went to the ship. When the master saw that she was aboard, he hoisted his sail and sailed away.

<sup>54</sup> This tale is in Chapter CI of what is known as the English *Gesta Romanorum* (MS. Reg. 17, D. VI in the British Museum), and is printed in the introduction to Swan's edition.

§188. This type of tale, of which the two summaries given above are fair examples, is well known throughout Europe, and has lent itself as a framework for the history of the *Calumniated Wife*, as in the *Gesta*.<sup>55</sup> The necessary parts of this kind of story seem to be :

- (a) The arrival of a strange ship in the harbour.
- (b) A cargo of such stuff as would appeal to women.
- (c) Designs on the lady by the merchant who owns the vessel.
- (d) A compliant servant or servants.
- (e) Difficulty in meeting the lady's wants without a visit aboard.
- (f) Visit of the lady aboard the ship to view the merchandise.
- (g) Sailing away without the lady's knowledge.

Now of these seven, the first six are found plainly stated in *Math* ; the last alone, which was of course no part of the scheme in *Math*, though important in the original form, is omitted. It may be therefore assumed with confidence that the story of the *Abduction on a Ship* has contributed largely to the totality of the story which describes the naming of Llew Llaw Gyffes.

§189. We are now in a position to attempt a division between the two main story traditions which lie embedded in the Naming of Llew Llawgyffes. First of all, we notice that the connecting link is the ship ; that is to say, there must be some feature which is common to both schemes, otherwise there would have been no cause to bring them together. The ship is an essential feature of the *Abduction* theme ; the ship is also essential to the main *Naming* story, because Arianrhod lived on an island. The two stories are :

<sup>55</sup> A good example from Hungary (*Ungarischen Märchen*), given by Lang, *Crimson Fairy Book*, p. 37, is the *Story of the Seven Simons*.

## 1. The Naming.

Gwydion takes the youth to the portion of the sea-coast opposite *Caer Arianrhod*, and there makes a ship out of sea-wrack, and leather out of sea-weed. They go aboard the ship to *Caer Arianrhod* and, landing at the gate [*drws porth y gaer*],<sup>56</sup> they solicit the lady's custom. The servant reports and invites them into the hall. Gwydion cuts the leather and the youth stitches but the first pair is too large. Gwydion cuts another pair and that is too small. "I am surprised," says *Arianrhod*, "that you have no skill in making shoes to measure." "Well," says Gwydion, "you are right; I have failed in skill, but I shall manage it this time." Whereupon he orders the youth to cut the leather, and he himself stitches. This time they produce a perfect fit. *Arianrhod* exclaims, "the smaller is the skilful-handed." "Now," says Gwydion, packing up his tools, "you have given him a name. 'Smaller skilful-handed' (*lughu lamhchomhes*) he shall be."

## 2. The Abduction.

A certain youth *A* desires a lady *B* who lives on an island. The youth's companion *C*, who is a wizard, orders him to strike him with a magic rod. *A* does so and *C* becomes a ship full of merchandise. *A* sails in the ship to the harbour, and induces *B* to come aboard to inspect his goods, stating that otherwise he could not meet her taste. Once *B* is aboard, *A* sails away with his captive.

It will be seen that the only essential portion of 1 and 2 which had to be omitted altogether in forming the complex which is found in *Math* is the last sentence of 2. Instead of that *Math* naturally states that the whole magic creation of ship and leather turned back into sea-weed and dulse.

<sup>56</sup> *Porth* means both "harbour" and "gate," being *L. portus* and *porta* respectively. It is curious that while both are now masculine, *porth*, "harbour," was at one time feminine. Cf. *Y Borth*.

*The Second Destiny,—Arms.*

§190. There do not seem to be many outstanding features in the account of the breaking of the second destiny. Gwydion changes his own appearance and Llew's, and comes *riding* to the gate of *Caer Arianrhod*. No ship is mentioned on this occasion, and it is assumed that *Caer Arianrhod* could be reached by land. They tell the porter to inform his mistress that two bards from Glamorgan (*Morgannwg*) are at the gate. They are invited into the hall, and after a meal they tell tales and *cyvarwyddyd*, that is, the kind of story on which the *Mabinogion* were based, and Gwydion was a good story-teller (*cyvarwydd*). They retire to bed ; next morning at dawn there is a great tumult outside, trumpets blowing and people shouting. To the door of their bedroom comes *Arianrhod* with her maiden, who state that they are in parlous case ; the sea cannot be seen for the ships that crowd on it. " We will help you to defend the *caer*," says Gwydion. *Arianrhod* thanks them, and says there are plenty of arms in the *caer*. At Gwydion's request, *Arianrhod* herself arrays the young man, while the maiden helps him (Gwydion) with his armour. " Have you finished arraying him?" says Gwydion. " I have finished," says she. " That is all," says Gwydion, " the destiny you placed on your son has now been broken—there are no ships there at all. He has his arms."

§191. It is not necessary to suppose that this incident is complex in origin. It is a compact and graphic account, and in that respect, the most striking of all the different incidents in *Math*. I have been unable to find any close analogy to it in Irish or in any legend ; its very simplicity and directness seem to suggest that this portion at least is not traditional but is largely the product of the " author's " own imagination. One or two of its features, however, may be paralleled from other stories.

§192. First, to disguise oneself as a bard is a favourite device in tales of a period when bards and minstrels wandered from court to court. Instances are plentiful in every language,

but common as they are, the Celtic examples generally contain some well-marked features as, for instance, the Presentation at the Gate and the Description of the Feast. It may be well, then, to compare a typical Irish example from the *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann* with *Math*, to show what a small difference there was between the methods of narration in Ireland and in Wales, and how widely divergent themes draw upon a store of commonplaces for their "padding." Such a comparison will show that "borrowing" is hardly an adequate explanation of the similarity. We must rather regard the tales as made of two elements, the one more or less stable, and peculiar to itself, the other composed of a combination of themes drawn from a common stock.

*Math.*

1. Then they altered their guise, and came to the gate.
2. "Porter," said he, "go in and say that bards from Morgannwg are here."
3. The porter went.
4. "Let them in," said Arianrhod, "and welcome to them."
5. The hall was arrayed and they went to eat.
6. They were received with great joy.
7. Arianrhod spoke with Gwydion of tales and *cyvarwyddyd*. Gwydion was a good *cyvarwydd*

*Children of Tuireann.*

1. They put the tie of poets (*ceangal fileadh*) upon their hair, and they knocked at the door of the court.
2. The porter asked who was there. "We are poets from Ireland come with a poem to the King."
3. The porter went to make it known to the King.
4. "Let them in," said the King.
5. The King commanded that the court should be set in order for them. They began drinking and making merry.
6. They thought that they themselves had never seen a court so good as that nor a household so numerous, nor had they met with so much warm affection.
7. Brian, the son of Tuireann, then spoke to his brethren to sing a poem for the King.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.* §41; cf. also §47; OCR, p. 68. A notable example of disguising oneself as a minstrel is found, of course, in versions of *Tristram and Iseult*, where *Tristram* visits the King's Court in that guise, and in the story of the disguising of Aedh by Patrick, *Silva Gadelica*, 204 ff.

§193. As for the Attack on the Castle as contrived by Gwydion, the theme may be closely connected with the story of the youth who, when sailing to the Holy Land, is cast ashore near his mother's castle. The youth, who does not know who his mother is, finds that a neighbouring duke has subdued the whole country and is attacking the castle. The seneschal presents him to the queen, and on the morrow he gathers together a large host, and delivers the castle and the country.<sup>58</sup>

*The Third Destiny and the Making of Blodeuwedd.*

§194. Having seen two destinies broken, Arianrhod swears on Llew a third and final destiny. "I swear a destiny on the youth," said she, "that he never get a wife of the race that is on earth at this time." Gwydion and Llew then went to Math who said, "Let us, me and thee, with our magic and enchantment make a wife for him of the flowers." So they took the flowers of the oak, the flowers of the broom, and the flowers of the meadow-sweet<sup>59</sup> and with them made a beautiful maiden. They named her Blodeuwedd.

§195. The whole of this episode is so closely connected with another portion of this study that it is proposed to leave most of the questions belonging to it till we come to consider the theme of the *Unfaithful Wife*. We must however first deal with one important matter, a knowledge of which may help us later on, namely, the identification of the woman created out of flowers for Llew with the Blodeuwedd of Celtic

<sup>58</sup> This type of story is well illustrated in No. LXXXI of the *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 148, and in different form in *Sir Degare* (Utterson, *Select Pieces of Early English Poetry*). See *Manual of Writings*, p. 134.

<sup>59</sup> W. Erwein. *Welsh Botany*, 49, gives "*Spirea*; *Erwain*, *Erwaint*. 1. *S. salicifolia*; Willow-leaved *Spirea*; *Erwain helyg-ddail*. 3. *S. Ulmaria*; Meadow-sweet; *Erwaint*, *Llys Arthur*, *Meddlys*." The usual name for *S. Ulmaria* in Caernarvonshire is *Brenhines y Weirglodd*, "Queen of the Meadow"; cf. the French name *Reine des prés*.



legend. First, the account of the creation of Llew's wife is obviously much simpler and seems to contain fewer hidden and traditional details than most of the other sections which we have so far studied. One feels convinced that this account of the Breaking of the Third Destiny is not so ancient as the other two, because it is much less complex. The only layer of an older tradition that can be detected is perhaps the reference to the "race that is on earth at this time." The form of the statement pre-supposes a belief that the earth was populated by successive races, differing from each other. I know of no survival of this belief in any other Welsh text except one hint in *Kulhwch ac Olwen*. When Arthur's men seek news of Mabon vab Modron, they come to the Blackbird of Cilgwri, who informs them that she knows nothing of Mabon :

When I came here first, there was a smith's anvil here, and I was a young bird. No work was done on it, except while my beak was on it every evening. To-day, there is not as much of it as a nut that is not worn away. God's vengeance on me if I have heard anything of the man you seek. But what is right and my duty to do for Arthur's messengers, that I will do. *There is a race (kenedlaeth) of beasts which God fashioned (rithwys) before me ; I will be your guide to them.*

They came to the Stag of Rhedynvre who directed them to "an animal that God fashioned" before him. That was the Owl (*Cuan*) of Cwm Cawlyd, who said :

"When I came here first, the great coombe which you see was a wooded valley, and a race (*kenedlaeth*) of men came to it, and it (i.e. the wood) was destroyed. . . . I will guide you to the oldest animal in this world, the Eagle of Gwernabwy.

§196. It will be seen that the words which set forth the age of these animals gradually change from the first to the last. In the last instance, the Eagle is simply an older animal ; in the first the stag is a different genus, or rather, a different

and earlier kind of creation. This of course, means some confusion in the mind of the "author," for he had two ideas in his mind at the same time, viz., (a) the ordinary fact of some individual animals being older than others of the same or different species, and (b) that some species were created and occupied the earth before others. The second idea is also suggested in the "race of men" who cut down the trees. We probably have, in this portion of *Math*, a reminiscence of an old *Creation Myth* according to which the earth was occupied by different kinds of created beings. Beliefs of this kind have naturally not survived to any extent among Christian peoples, but they are abundant among the heathen.<sup>60</sup>

§197. The flowers also, chosen for the making of Blodeuwedd, seem to belong to early myth. They were probably chosen to be the appropriate material for the different parts of her body, the oak to form her bones, the broom for her hair, and the meadow-sweet for her skin.<sup>61</sup>

§198. Finally, the making of Blodeuwedd is not according to the traditions about her preserved in Celtic literature. Her intrigue with Gronwy Pevr and her punishment will be considered in their place; these incidents are fairly well authenticated from other and independent sources. It is sufficient to say that the woman who was called Blodeuwedd and who was as a punishment for her intrigue with Gronwy Pevr turned into an owl, was not made from flowers by Gwydion and Math, but was born in the normal way; and, therefore, it was not because she was made of flowers that she was called Blodeuwedd.

<sup>60</sup> e.g. the Karok Indians (*FLR*. V. 94), the Achomawi (*ibid*, 115) the Nishinam, (*ibid*, 131), and particularly the Miwok Indians (*ibid*, 135).

<sup>61</sup> Compare *Elucidarium*, p. 179: *Habet namque ex terra carnem, ex aqua sanguinem, ex aere flatum, ex igni calorem. . . . Participium duritiae lapidum habet in ossibus, virorem arborum in inguibus, decorem graminum in crinibus.*

## The Name Blodeuwedd.

§199. The name occurs in the *WB* and the *RB* in two forms *Blodeuwedd* and *Blodeuedd*. The Irish form is *Bláthnat*.<sup>62</sup> Now *Bláthnat* can only be equated with *Blodeuwedd* as to its first part *bláth* which is the philologically exact parallel of the W. *blawd*, Med. W. pl. *blodeu*; it seems impossible to equate *-edd* or *-wedd* with *-nat*. When, therefore, we find later that a part of *Blodeuwedd*'s history corresponds to that of *Bláthnat*, and that a part does not correspond, we are forced to the conclusion that two different women have been synthesized into one. First, we must see what is said of her in Welsh tradition independent of *Math*. Dafydd ap Gwilym in his *cywydd* to the Owl holds a conversation with her as follows:<sup>63</sup>

"Er da, fab, difai ym wýdd  
Yn y llwyn,—gad fi'n llonydd  
I ddwyn poen, o ddyn,<sup>64</sup> penyd  
A bâr holl adar y byd!  
Er hyd y nos, rhaid i ni  
Goddef annwyd, a gweiddi;  
Gobaith nid oes ond gwibio  
Y dydd, ar fy ffydd, a ffo!"

"Er hyn, pa aderyn, pa'r haint  
Pwy dy henaw, pryd henaint?"

"Bonedd gwyllwedd y'm gelwynt  
Blodeuwedd wrth gyfedd gynt;  
Merch i arglwydd, ail Meirchion,  
Ydwyf fi, myn Duw, o Fôn."

"Hoywfun wen, gwawr i henwi,—  
Er trist ión, pwy a'th troes di?"

<sup>62</sup> See, for instance, the poem *Findglas* (*Metrical Dindshenchas*, iii, 255).

<sup>63</sup> The text here given is from *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym*, pp. 364-5, and *Peniarth MS.* 76, pp. 144-5. Both texts are very corrupt.

<sup>64</sup> MSS. *o don*.

"Gwydion fab Dôn ar Gronwy,  
 Hudlath ni bu i Fath<sup>65</sup> fwy,  
 Am hudodd i o'm hoywder,  
 I'r poen a wely, nid pêr,  
 Haul dramawr o hil dremynt,  
 Am haeru ym garu gynt  
 Gronwy fab Pefr Goronhir,  
 Arglwydd Penllyn, hoywyn hir."

[Owl *loquitur*] "For goodness' sake, sir, leave me alone, (the trees in the grove are well enough for me) to bear my pain and penalty, and the anger of all the fowls of the world, oh, man. All night long, we owls must suffer the cold and hoot. Without hope we are, and in the daytime, my lot i' faith is to dart from place to place in flight."

[Poet *loquitur*] "Yes, yes, but what fowl art thou? What ails thee? What is thy name, thou aged face?"

[Owl *loq.*] "Once did gentlefolk of modest mien, in the carousal, call me Flower-face (Blodeuwedd). By God! I am a daughter of a lord of Môn (Anglesey), a second Meirchion."<sup>66</sup>

[Poet *loq.*] "Fair lady bright, that art like thy name, for the Lord Christ's sake,<sup>67</sup> who turned thee [into an owl]?"

[Owl *loq.*] "Gwydion son of Dôn on Conway,—Math had no greater magic wand,—transformed me from my joy into the penance which thou seest, 'tis not well, [Gwydion] of the family of the sun of burning glance, because of old it was reported that I loved the fair and tall Gronwy, son of Pevr of the Long Crown, Lord of Penllyn."

§200. Dafydd ap Gwilym's account, as far as it goes, is clear enough. It gives the details of the story of Blodeuwedd as known to him, and as popularly current in Wales. It is inconceivable that Dafydd, had he known the *Mabinogi* of

<sup>65</sup> Both texts read *o'i fath*.

<sup>66</sup> *Meirchion* (from L. *Marcianus*) was the name of the father of March, the King Mark of the Tristan story.

<sup>67</sup> The reading *er trist iôn* "for the sad lord's sake" is probably corrupt, unless it is, as I have taken it here, a *sacre-bleu* form for *Er Crist Iôn*.

*Math* in its present form, and had that *Mabinogi* represented the genuine tradition, would have made Blodeuwedd the daughter of Meirchion. He would, of course, as a poet, have followed the much more interesting and romantic version of Blodeuwedd's origin. We may take it that the story as given by Dafydd was substantially the version current in Wales, and that it ran thus, (conjectural portions are in italics) :

Blodeuwedd was the daughter of Meirchion, a lord of Anglesey *She was married to Gwydion ab Dôn, or to a protégé of his.* Gwydion was the possessor of a famous magic wand. On account of her infidelity with Gronwy Pevr, Lord of Penllyn, she was punished by Gwydion, who transformed her into an owl at a place on Conway river ; that is why all the birds are cruel to the owl, and why she does not dare show her face during the day.

§201. The other account is given by Lewis Morris (1701-1765) who, in his *Celtic Remains*, made use of materials now lost. He does not however name Blodeuwedd, and the editor, Silvan Evans, has failed to read the husband's name :

Gwydion or Gwdion, son of Don, Lord or Prince of Arvon. This Gwdion was a great philosopher and astronomer, and from him the *Via Lactea*, or Milky Way, or Galaxy, in the heavens is called *Caer Gwdion*. His great learning made the vulgar call him a conjuror and necromancer ; and there was a story feigned that when he travelled through the heavens in search of . . . 's [*sic*] wife that eloped, he left this tract of stars behind him (D.J.). See *Math* and *Dôn*, and *Gronwy Pefr*.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Celtic Remains*, p. 231.

§202. The reason why the owl is called "Flowerface" is obvious, as the feathers which surround the eyes of the common owl have a striking resemblance to the flowers of the Composite Order, and it is indeed strange that its appearance has not suggested the name in languages other than Welsh. What the relation is between Blodeuwedd the owl and Blodeuwedd the woman, it is outside our province to inquire in detail. It may be suggested, however, that the transformation of a woman into an owl is an ancient legend, and not peculiar to Wales. Shakespeare, for instance, says : " They say the owl was a baker's daughter,"<sup>69</sup> and Fletcher says :

Give me a nest of owls, and take 'em—Happy is he, says I, whose window opens To a brown baker's chimney ! He shall be sure there To hear the bird sometimes after twilight.<sup>70</sup>

Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakespear*, says that

among the vulgar in Gloucestershire there is a tradition that Jesus asked for bread at a baker's shop. The mistress put dough in the oven, but was rebuked by her daughter, who lessened the lump. The dough miraculously grew, and the daughter cried, " Heugh ! Heugh ! Heugh ! " like an owl, whereupon Jesus changed her into one.

Another account emanating from Berkshire<sup>71</sup> states that

Jesus went into a baker's shop to ask for something to eat. The mistress began baking a cake, and each time she put in a handful, she took some out, saying, " Oo-oooh ! that's too much." Whereupon Jesus said, " *Owl thou art, and owl thou shalt be, and all the birds of the earth shall peck at thee.*" " And if you come to look at the owl, it has more the face of a Christian than a bird."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Hamlet*, IV. 5.40.

<sup>70</sup> *Nice Valour*, III, 3. Cf. Hazlitt's *Proverbs*, (1882) p. 394.

<sup>71</sup> *Untravelled Berkshire*, IX. p. 120.

<sup>72</sup> For the identification of the owl with the Jews as early at least as the eleventh century, see *Wood Carvings in English Churches*. I. *Misericords*, p. 47. A story similar to the *Baker's Daughter* is also told of the cuckoo. See Hardy, *FR*, ii, 77. See also for further discussion Rendel Harris, *Origin of the Cult of Dionysos*, in *John Ryland's Library Bulletin*, II, 2. In China the Barn Owl (*Strix flammea*) is a transformation of one of the servants of the ten Kings of the infernal regions. See *British Birds*, p. 127.

PART V.  
THE UNFAITHFUL WIFE

§203. We may assume then that the first stage in the concatenation of tales and traditions which forms this portion of *Math* is a belief that the owl was changed into a woman, and that the name Blodeuwedd, "Flowerface," which it bore as a bird was naturally given in some accounts as the name of the woman. Further, there were traditions in Celtic countries of women being turned to birds for their infidelity, as for instance the bird in the *Voyage of the Húi Corra*,<sup>73</sup> which declares to the voyagers that it was once a woman who had been unfaithful to her husband; this would naturally tend to foster that form of the owl's story which we find here. The second stage is represented by Dafydd ap Gwilym's *cywydd*. Here the unfaithful wife, Blodeuwedd, is the paramour of Gronwy Pevr, as in *Math*, and is transformed by Gwydion into an owl on the river Conway; but though she had thus a miraculous end, her birth was normal; she was the daughter of a lord of Môn.

§204. Now it is quite clear that this second stage in the development of the legend was the form in which it was originally incorporated in *Math*, as not only the name of the paramour is the same in both versions, but the locale of the story corresponds in every detail. We shall see that in *Math* Blodeuwedd with her maidens fled to the mountains, that the maidens (*morynion*) were drowned in *Llyn y Morynion* (The Maidens' Lake) and that Blodeuwedd fled onwards till she was overtaken by Gwydion. The source of the Conway is in Conway Lake within a mile of *Llyn y Morynion*.

§205. The story of Blodeuwedd is an intrusion. It has no connection at all with the original history of Llew, which, as far as the three destinies are concerned, ended with the acquisition of a wife made from flowers. The accidental similarity of *Blodeuwedd*, the flower-wife, the more common

<sup>73</sup> RC, XIV, 50.



form in *Math*, to *Blodeuwedd*, the name of the owl, and that (conjecturally) of Gwydion's wife, inevitably drew the story of Blodeuwedd the Owl into the orbit of Llew's history. It is significant in this connection that the fusion is not complete. In every case where Blodeuwedd in *Math* mentions her husband to Gronwy Pevr, she carefully avoids his name, and calls him simply *yr unben bieu y llys*, "the lord to whom the court belongs." A similar peculiarity is to be noticed in the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll*, where a similar substitution has taken place. There, throughout the incident of the combat with Havgan, Pwyll who has been in the story substituted for another<sup>74</sup> is never mentioned by name though he is the hero of the *Mabinogi*. Havgan's opponent is always referred to as "the man who was in Arawn's place."<sup>75</sup>

§206. It is not difficult to explain these curious refusals to go to the logical end and give the intruder his own proper name. The new story which becomes incorporated with the old was at one time (as we see in Dafydd ap Gwilym's version of the *Tale of Blodeuwedd*) an independent legend, told by the *cyfarwydd* in set terms and with its own independent detail. When it is grafted on another stock, it takes some time to acquire its new details, particularly its new names, and the *cyfarwydd* who knew it in its independent form merely suppresses those names which would be incongruous in the new setting, without supplying the necessary new nomenclature. It happens that *Math* was committed to writing at precisely this stage in the development of the Blodeuwedd portion. If it had gone on being a spoken *cyfarwyddyd* for some time longer, this crudeness too would have been removed, and we should have lost one important clue in the disentanglement of the mystery.

<sup>74</sup> See the author's *Mabinogion. Cym. Trans.* 1912-3, pp. 69-70.

<sup>75</sup> An example of a different kind has already been noticed (§97) where Gwydion had ousted Math, but where the author failed to make the necessary change of name.

*Comparison of Blodeuwedd Traditions.*

§207. Having isolated the story which we may call the *Tale of Blodeuwedd*, we must now proceed to examine in detail that story, which, though it is an intrusion in *Math*, is as much a part of our complete text as any other. First of all, at the risk of tedious reiteration, we must repeat its details as we have so far gathered them. First the Dafydd ap Gwilym version, (*D*) :<sup>76</sup>

Blodeuwedd was the daughter of Meirchion a lord of Môn (Anglesey), *and was married to Gwydion son of Dôn*. She had an intrigue with Gronwy son of Pevr, lord of Penllyn. When Gwydion discovered her infidelity, *she escaped and he chased her* as far as the river Conway, and there overtook her. As a punishment he struck her with his magic wand and transformed her into an Owl. That is why all birds are cruel to the owl, and why she does not show herself in the daylight.

§208. And now the *Math* version which we shall call *E* :<sup>77</sup>

The flower-maiden called Blodeuwedd became Llew's wife. To maintain the young pair, Math gave them the cantrev of Dunodig, and there he lived at Mur y Castell. Upon a day Llew went to Caer Dathal. She "turned within the court" and heard men hunting. The hunter was Gronwy Pevr, lord of Penllyn. He came to the court for a night's lodging, and during the evening Blodeuwedd and Gronwy fell in love with each other, and slept together. On the last night they planned how they could be always together, and Gronwy advised thus : "There is but one counsel, to seek from him

<sup>76</sup> Conjectural or synthetic portions of *D* are printed in italics.

<sup>77</sup> I avoid calling it *M* as that letter has already been used for another purpose.

to know in what *manner his death may come*, and that under guise of care for him." When Llew returned she pretended to be in great grief, because she was concerned about his safety. Llew said : " Unless God kill me, it is not easy to kill me." Blodeuwedd then said that she should know the manner in which he might be killed so that she might guard against it. Llew told her then the conditions which must be fulfilled before he could be killed,—the making of the spear, the preparation of the bath, and so on. Blodeuwedd, as soon as she was given these details, sent to Gronwy, who made the spear which was finished in a year's time. Thereupon Blodeuwedd persuaded her husband to assume the position necessary for his death. This was done on the banks of the river Cynfael, and Gronwy cast the spear into Llew's side. Then Llew gave a piercing shriek, and he sprang into the air in the form of an eagle, and was not seen after. Next day Gronwy conquered Ardudwy, and ruled over it. The news reached Math, and Gwydion and he were in great sorrow. The story relates how Gwydion found Llew and *restored him by his magic wand* until he was in his own form. In a year's time, when he was quite cured of his wound, he sought amends from Gronwy and Blodeuwedd. They all went to Ardudwy, but Gwydion went before them and came to Mur y Castell. Blodeuwedd heard that they were coming, so she took her maidens and went to the mountains, to a manor on the mountain. They walked looking backwards because they were afraid, and all fell into a lake and were drowned except Blodeuwedd. Then Gwydion overtook her and told her that for her punishment he would not slay her, but would turn her into an owl, and that for the shame she had wrought on Llew she would never dare

show her face in the day time, and that all the birds would illtreat her. That she would never lose her name but be always called Blodeuwedd, "that is, an owl in the language of to-day, . . . and the owl is still called Flowerface."

§209. Upon examination of these two versions *D* and *E* we find that the main discrepancy disappears ; the discrepancy, I mean, in the names given to Blodeuwedd's husband. In *D* we found, by inference, that the husband was Gwydion ; in *E* we find that in that portion of *Math* which relates the complete conspiracy, the husband is not once mentioned by name. On the other hand, it is clear that he is a magician. He bears a charmed life and may only be killed in a certain position and in a certain place, and as we shall see later, the cajoling of the husband by the wife is a precise and exact version of similar cajolings in all the tales where an unfaithful wife wishes to be rid of a shape-shifting husband. Now Llew in *Math* is not a magician ; the magicians of this tale are Math and Gwydion. In *E* it is not Llew who punishes Blodeuwedd but Gwydion, and the reason for this unexpected ending is twofold. In the first place, Gwydion, who both in *D* and *E* punishes Blodeuwedd, does so because he, and not Llew, is the aggrieved husband. In the second place, according to the very mixed *E* version, the husband should have been dead, because it is clearly understood throughout the story that the magic position was to make his death possible and not his metamorphosis into an eagle. In other words, in the original source of *D* and *E*, Blodeuwedd's husband who was a magician was killed by the paramour, and was thereupon avenged by the husband's friend. It matters not that in this case the husband's friend is Gwydion ; once Gwydion became unknown as Blodeuwedd's husband, it was natural that as Llew's protector he should avenge his death. The common source of *D* and *E*, then, certainly contained the following details :

1. A certain magician had a wife who was unfaithful to him, the paramour's name being Gronwy Pevr.

Then we have these contaminations from other sources :

2. In *D*, the husband avenges himself on the wife by turning her into an owl.
3. In the source of *D* and *E* the wife and paramour encompass the death of the husband, and the husband's friend punishes the wife by turning her into an owl; the husband himself, or his friend, kills the paramour.

*Blodeuedd—Bláthnat.*

§210. We may leave the matter thus for a time, and proceed to compare the versions of Ireland which are analogous to *D* and *E*. The starting point is the name *Blodeuwedd* already discussed. We have seen that it is a natural and traditional name for the owl, and that the belief that the owl " Flowerface " was once a woman is widely spread. Llew's wife was made of flowers and her name *Blodeuwedd* or *Blodeuedd* drew to itself the similar story connected with the owl. The owl version therefore is peculiar to Wales; that is, the fusion of the story of the woman *Blodeuwedd* being turned into an owl and the story of the unfaithful wife *Blodeuedd* is the product of the Welsh imagination, and shows itself in a fairly simple form in *D* and in a much more complex form in *E*.

§211. If then we eliminate both the owl—and the eagle—transformation, we have to seek a version which contains a *Blodeu(w)edd* who is as in *D* of a normal and natural origin; who conspires with a paramour to kill her magician husband, and is in turn put to death by the husband's friend. Such a story is the very well-known and well-defined story attached

to *Bláthnat* or *Bláthnait* in Ireland. As already noted, *Bláth-* corresponds exactly to *Blod-* but it is difficult at first sight to equate *-euedd* with *-nat*. It is to be observed, however, that there is a possibility that a much closer relationship underlies the two forms than appears at first. In *RB* and *WB* final *d* regularly stands for *dd* (= *th* in English *thee*) and we are therefore right in reading the MS *Blodeued* as *Blodeuedd*. But in the common archetype of both *WB* and *RB*, final *d* meant *d* only, and final *dd* was represented by *t*. Of this there is ample evidence which is well known to scholars and to which there is no need to refer here.<sup>78</sup> In many cases, especially in uncommon words and in proper names, the later scribes blundered in reproducing this *-t*; they sometimes copied it as *-t* which of course in their orthography denoted *d*, instead of copying it correctly as *d*. A scribe therefore who came across an Irish *Bláthnat* in the old Irish form would inevitably, (unless he committed the blunder above mentioned), copy it down in its Welsh adapted form as *Blodnad* or *Blodeunad*, according as to whether he took the stem *blod-* or the full form *blodeu*. The letter *n* then as now was regularly miscopied as *u*, and in some scripts was absolutely indistinguishable from *u*. So it would be very largely a matter of chance whether the word were copied as *Blodeunad* or as *Blodeuud*. But the matter is not ended here. The final *t* of *Bláthnat* is the old Irish written equivalent of what would be later written and pronounced *d*, as for instance in old Irish *cét*, "hundred" = Mod. I. *cead*. If, as is most probable, judging from the treatment of other names, the word came from Irish into Welsh through spoken tales, the final consonant would be correctly heard as *d*, and written down as either *d* or *t* according to the age and style of the script; the vowel of the second element was a modified *a*, that is *ai*. I make no apology therefore for equating not only the undoubted first element

<sup>78</sup> The matter is dealt with in Dr. Mary Williams's *Peredur*.

of the name, but the second element also, which I take to be represented by Welsh *-ned* written *-ned*, and miscopied as *-ued*, thus giving rise to the full MS form *Blodeued*<sup>79</sup> which naturally became confused with *Blodeuwedd*, the owl's name.

### *Bláthnat.*

§212. It is now time to examine the story of *Bláthnat*, the *Blodeuedd* of Ireland, which on account of its simplicity and lucidity I make no further excuse for accepting as a comparatively uncontaminated form of the legend. In the *Amra Chonrói*<sup>80</sup> (The Eulogy of Cúrói) and the *Aided Conrói maic Dáiri*<sup>81</sup> (The Death of Cúrói mac Dáiri) we find the earlier forms of the legend, which is also given by Keating,<sup>82</sup> and of which the preliminary portion is supplied by the *Fled Bricrend*<sup>83</sup> (Feast of Bricriu); it is also given in two short verses in the *Dindshenchas*.<sup>84</sup> The different versions are here given in a summarised form, which we may call *H*:

*Bláthnait* was the daughter of *Mend* or *Mider*, the king of *Falga*, or the Isle of Man, and was taken to wife by Cúrói son of Dáiri, a great magician who lived in a revolving castle.<sup>85</sup> One day Cúchulainn came on a visit to Cúrói's castle, and Cúrói was not at home.

<sup>79</sup> Rhŷs's remark on the name is: "*Bláthnat's* name, derived from *bláth* "bloom," reminds one of that of *Blodeuedd*, from *blodau*, "flowers" . . . ."

<sup>80</sup> Edited with a glossarial index by Whitley Stokes, *Eriu*, ii, 1-14. See also *ZCP* ix, 193 ff, and *Die Irische Helden- und Königsage* by R. Thurneysen, pp. 431 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Edited with a translation by R. I. Best, *Eriu*, ii, 18-35.

<sup>82</sup> *History of Ireland*, (ed. Halliday) p. 398.

<sup>83</sup> p. 142.

<sup>84</sup> Vol. iii, p. 254.

<sup>85</sup> The revolving castle is worthy of note as this tradition has survived in Ireland to our day. For instance, Conal's wife was stolen by the High King of World who had a revolving castle dropping poison all round. (Curtin, *HT*, p. 87).

Cúchulainn and Bláthnait fell in love with each other, and plotted how best to kill her husband. At the appointed time, Cúchulainn stationed himself at the bottom of the hill waiting for Bláthnait's signal which was to be the emptying of her father's cauldron of milk into the stream. When he saw the signal, Cúchulainn rushed into the fort and slew Cúrói, who was asleep with his head on Bláthnait's lap.<sup>86</sup> He took away Bláthnait with him to Ulster, but in time, Cúrói's poet, Ferceirtne, went to Ulster, and his opportunity came when he found Bláthnait standing on a high cliff. He suddenly clasped her in his arms, broke her ribs, and flung her down the cliff.

The story of Cúrói's death was well known in Wales, and is commemorated in a poem in BT.<sup>87</sup> The poem is obscure and until much work is done on the corrupt text, it is useless to attempt to translate it.<sup>88</sup> Such portions of it however as I am able to understand seem to suggest that the poem contains only references to a *marwnad*, "deathsong" of Cúrói, e.g. l.3, "the *marwnad* of Corroy has stirred me," and l.19 "the fight of Corroi and Cocholyn."

<sup>86</sup> In other versions, after she had washed his head, and bound his hair to the bedposts and rails.

<sup>87</sup> BT, p. 66, Skene, *FAB*, ii, p. 198. The title is *Marwnat Corroi M. Dayry*, "the Deathsong of C.m.D." The form *Corroi* is from the Irish genitive *Conrói*, and, with *Dayry* showing a regular Welsh development of *ai* into *ay*, seems to point to an oral transmission.

<sup>88</sup> I should like to assure the reader who is unacquainted with old Welsh mythological poetry that such translations of it as have appeared (including Rhys's, the best), are mere guesswork and no theory of any kind may be built upon them. This warning, which the Arthurian scholars of America may well heed, applies to nearly all the translations in Skene.



§213. We may now assume that both *H*, on the one hand, and *P* the common source of *D* and *E* on the other, derive ultimately from a common source *K* of which *H* itself is a very close representative, and that the names in *H* are probably, for the most part, genuinely traditional. However, the group *DE* contains, even in its present form, at least two indications of the source *K*. The first is the name of Blodeuwedd's father, Meirchion a lord of Môn. Now the confusion between Môn and Man dates from the time of the Roman writers, as the Latin name of both islands is traditionally *Mona*.<sup>89</sup> After the thirteenth century we find few references in Welsh literature to Man, and an Irish tradition, as this seems to be, in which Bláthnat is the daughter of Mend or Mider, King of Man, would almost inevitably be developed in Wales to represent her as the daughter of a lord of Môn. As to his name *Meirchion*, I can only make a guarded suggestion that it, like scores of others, is a rough approximation of a native Welsh name to represent a foreign one.<sup>90</sup> It bears perhaps as much relation to the Irish name as Monmouth to Macedon in a famous Welshman's comparison.

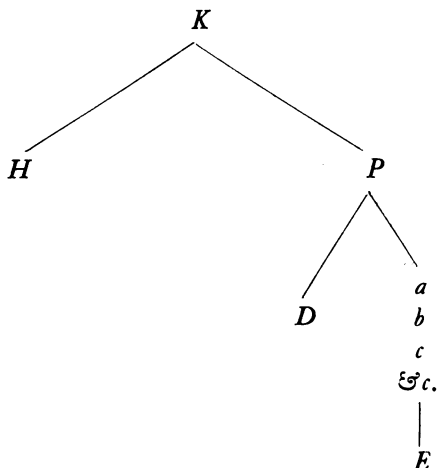
§214. The second point is related to a curious phrase in *Math*. When Blodeuwedd found herself alone after Llew's departure, it is said of her that "on the day that he went to Caer Dathal, she turned within the court" (*y dyd yd aeth ef parth a chaer dathyl troi o vywn y llys a wnaeth hi*). There seems to be no particular reason for this extraordinary phrase; the next sentence says that she then heard the sounds of hunting.

<sup>89</sup> In Welsh, Anglesey is *Môn*, and Man is *Manaw*. *Môn* is the regular development of *Mona*, while *Manaw* supposes a British form *Manava* or *Monava*, and perhaps means "Great Môn."

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *Lles* to represent *Lucius*, *Gweirydd* for *Arviragus*, and probably *Peredur* for *Perceval*.

I have failed to find the phrase elsewhere in Welsh ; certainly the usual word for "moving about" would be the reflexive form *ymdroi* (*verti*) and not the active *troi* (*vertere*). I suggest that we have here the vestiges of some phrase which described her as being kept in her husband's revolving castle, and when he had gone, she turned it round so as to be able to go out.

§215. If then the departure of *E* from the original *K* is not too great, we may with the help of the intermediate form *D* and the form *H* which we have taken to be fairly close to *K*, attempt a reconstruction of *K* by a careful comparison of versions at our disposal. The scheme of relationship which we have assumed will be as follows :



where *abc Sc.*, denote lost intermediate stages. The incidents now will be placed in three columns, the first containing material supplied by *H*, the second by *P*, as we have roughly reconstructed it, the third containing those details which are in *E* alone, and which we assume were not in *P*.

H	P	E alone.
<p>The woman is the daughter of the King of Man.</p>	<p>The woman is the daughter of a lord of Môn.</p>	<p>The woman is made of flowers.</p>
<p>Her name is Bláthnait.</p>	<p>Her name is Blodeued, (from <i>Blodeuned</i>).</p>	
<p>Her husband is a magician.</p>	<p>Her husband is a magician.</p>	
<p>He lives in a revolving castle.</p>	<p>Blodeued "turns within the castle."</p>	
<p>Cúchulain visits the castle during the husband's absence.</p>	<p>Gronwy Pevr visits the castle during the husband's absence.</p>	
<p>Cúchulain and Bláthnait plot the husband's death.</p>	<p>Gronwy and Blodeued plot the husband's death.</p>	
<p>The husband is killed in a certain fixed position which has rendered him helpless.</p>	<p>The husband is killed in a certain fixed position in which alone he can be killed.</p>	
<p>Cúchulain stations himself in readiness on the bank of a stream, Findglas.</p>	<p>Gronwy stations himself in readiness on the bank of the river Cynvael.</p>	
<p>Cúchulain kills Cúrói.</p>		<p>Gronwy turns the husband then into an eagle.</p>

<i>H</i> (contd).	<i>P</i> (contd).	<i>E</i> alone (contd).
Cúchulain carries Bláthnait away to Ulster.	Gronwy carries Blodeued away into the mountains.	
		The husband is restored to his own shape by the magic of a friend.
They are followed by the husband's friend.	They are followed by the husband's friend.	
		Gronwy Pevr is slain with a spear.
The husband's friend avenges him by throw- ing the wife over the cliff.	The husband, or the husband's friend turns Blodeued into an owl.	

§216. It has now emerged that *H* agrees with *P* in nearly all the details of the story, and only differs in the ending, namely the punishment of the wife, who was magically turned into an owl. The differences between *H* and *E* are much more numerous and may be tabulated as follows :

- (a) The unfaithful wife is made by magic from flowers.
- (b) The wife's lover turns the husband Llew into an eagle.
- (c) The husband is restored by magic to his own shape.
- (d) The wife is turned into an owl as a punishment.
- (e) The lover is slain by a spear as a punishment.

Of these five incidents, four are concerned with shape-shifting and magic transformation : the fifth (*e*) seems at first sight to have little significance, but we shall presently see that this is not so.

§217. Of the four magical transformations, the first obviously belongs to the very framework of the present form of *Math*. We have seen above that the marriage of Llew is an essential feature of the original theme, and that as the death-blow of the grandfather was to be dealt on the night of Llew's marriage, it was necessary that the grandfather should swear upon him a destiny that he should have no woman for wife "of any race that is on the earth now." Two solutions to defeat this destiny would suggest themselves to the story-teller ; first, that a woman should be created in an entirely new way and differently from the daughters of men ; or secondly, that a quester should go forth and find a woman who had been specially created or who was a survival from some " race " now extinct. In *Macbeth*, Macbeth was promised by the witches that " none of woman born " should kill him ; but he was killed by Macduff who was not born in the ordinary way but was " from his mother's womb untimely ripped " ; that is, by the Caesarean operation. Now it may very well be that in the original form of the story this second was the solution, and that the whole incident of the making of Blodeuedd was suggested by the name, which, we have seen, attracted to itself the totally unrelated Blodeuwedd, which was the natural and intelligible fancy name for the owl. To assume this, however, would be unwarrantable as we have no indication whatever either here, or in similar stories, of this feature. We must accept the first solution of the destiny as the original ; that being so, it was the accident of the name which attracted to itself the unrelated story of Blodeuedd or Blodeuned, the Bláthnat of *H*.

§218. We are now left with the magical transformations (b) and (c) and (d). The lover conspiring with the wife turns the magician-husband into a bird, and the wife, in punishment, is turned into a bird after the husband has been restored by magic into his own shape. These three incidents, which were not in *K*, have obviously crept in from some other source.

Baldly stated as they are above, they suggest a complete märchen ; placed in narrative order, they become at once significant, when taken in relation to the other incidents in *K* :

*A who is a magician has a wife B who has an intrigue with a lover C. B and C conspire together to be rid of A and discover the means to transform him into a bird. This they do, and live together in security until a friend D comes, who is also a magician, and who transforms A back into his own shape. D and A then avenge themselves on B by transforming her also into a bird.*

§219. The story of which the above is the framework, is well authenticated, and luckily for us, well documented, and it will probably cause no surprise when we say that it is another story of the magician Balor, which we will now proceed to study. As told of Balor, it is found in a form which we may call  $\Delta$  but substantially the same tale is told of the "King of Lochlin," whom also we may presume to be Balor. That version we may call  $\Delta$  1.

### $\Delta$ *Art and Balor Beimenach.*<sup>91</sup>

#### i. [*Prologue.*]

§220. Art, son of the King of Leinster, was seeking a wife. One day he saw the Red Gruagach coming on a ship, and played a game of dice with him. Art won and named as his wish the finest woman on earth with twelve attendant maidens and thirteen horses. The Gruagach produced them at once from the ship, and Art was married to the maiden. The wife would not allow Art to leave the castle without her, but one day when she was ill, Art went out and met the Gruagach and played another game of dice with him. This time Art lost, and his opponent named as his wish that Art should bring him the Sword of Light and the story of the man who had it. Art's wife said to him :

<sup>91</sup> *HT*, pp. 323-34. The Parts I and III which I have called respectively "Prologue" and "Epilogue" are given in a summary form. Part II, "Balor's Story," I have given in full, word for word, as I have given Part III of the *Cotter's Son and the Half-Slim Champion*.

"You are not a husband for me now, you must go from me. The man who has the Sword of Light is my sister's husband; he has the strength of thousands in him, and can run with the speed of wild beasts. Now you must go, take my horse with the bridle in your right hand and let the horse go where he pleases; he will never stop till he comes to my father's castle. My father is King Under the Wave. He will ask you where you got that horse and you will say where you won him and the daughter of King Under the Wave from the Red Gruagach." King Under the Wave welcomed Art and said to him: "It is the husband of another daughter of mine who has that Sword of Light now; and while he has it, he could kill the whole world. But I like you better. Balor Beimenach, this son-in-law of mine, will grow stronger each time you go to his castle. One of my men will show you the window of the room where he sleeps. You will turn your horse's back to the window, and call out, 'Are you asleep, Balor Beimenach?' He will reply, and call out, 'What do you want?' You will answer, 'The Sword of Light and the story of Balor Beimenach.' Put spurs to the horse that instant; I will have the twelve gates of the castle open before you. Balor cannot come in, he must stop outside." Art did as he was commanded, but Balor chased him and as he spurred into the King's castle, Balor cut his horse in two behind him, and Art fell in over the wall with the front half. The same thing happened the next night and the third, Art barely escaping with his life from Balor's blows. On the fourth night, Art slipped into Balor's room while he was asleep, and grasped the Sword of Light which was hanging above him. The moment Art touched the sword, he had all Balor's strength. "I wish to be your friend," said Art, "tell me your story." Balor rose, and went to his wife, and said, "Come with me to your father's castle." King Under the Wave gave a great feast, and after it, Balor Beimenach took Art aside and told him this story:

ii. [*Balor's Story.*]

I was married to my wife but a short time, and living in that castle beyond, when I wanted to go to a fair. When not far from the castle, I found that I had left my whip behind, and went back for it. For years there had lived in my castle a cripple. On returning I found that my wife had disappeared with this cripple. I went after them in a rage, and when I reached her, she struck me with a rod of enchantment, and made a white horse of me. She gave

me then to a servant, who was to take grain to the mill with me. I had no saddle on my back, only a chain to cut and gall me. Though a horse, I had my own knowledge. I wanted freedom. The boy who drove me misused me, and beat me. I broke his leg with a kick, and ran away among wild hills to pasture. I had the best grass, and lived for a time at my ease, but my wife heard of me and had me brought home. She struck me again with her rod of enchantment, and made a wolf of me. I ran away to rocky places. The wolves of the mountains bit and tore me ; but at last they grew friendly. I took twelve of these with me, and we killed my wife's cattle, day and night. She collected hunters and hounds, who killed six of the wolves. The other six and I were more harmful than ever. A second party killed the other six, and I was alone. They surrounded me ; there was no escape. I saw among the hunters my own father-in-law. I ran to King Under the Wave, fell down before him, looked into his face ; he pitied and saved me, and took me home with him. My wife was at her father's that day and knew me. She begged the king to kill me ; but he would not ; he kept me. I served him well and he loved me. I slept in the castle. One night a great serpent came down the chimney, and began to crawl towards the King's little son, sleeping there in the cradle. I saw the serpent, and killed it. My wife was at her father's castle that night, and rose first on the following morning. She saw the child sleeping, and the serpent lying dead. She took the child to her own chamber, rubbed me with blood from the serpent, and told the King that I had eaten the child. " I begged you long ago to kill that wolf," said she to her father ; " if you had followed my advice, you would not be without your son now." She turned and went out. Right there on a table was the rod of enchantment,



which my wife had forgotten. I sprang towards the King ; he was startled, and struck me with the rod, without knowing its power. I became a man, was myself again, and told the King my whole story. We went to my wife's chamber ; there the King found his son living and well. King Under the Wave gave command then to bring seven loads of turf with seven barrels of pitch, make one pile of them, and burn his daughter and the cripple on the top of the pile. "Grant me one favour," cried I. "I will," said the king. "Spare your daughter ; she may live better now." "I will," said the King, "but they will burn the cripple."

### iii. [*Epilogue.*]

"That is my story for you. Go now, and tell it to the Red Gruagach ; keep the sword in your hand while telling the story, and when you have finished, thrust the sword into the air, and say, 'Go to Balor Beimenach.' The sword will return to me, but you may have it if you require it." Art returned to his wife, and then went to the Red Gruagach, and told the story, and did as Balor had commanded him.<sup>92</sup>

## Δ 1. *The Cotter's Son and the Half-Slim Champion.*

### i. [*General Prologue.*]

§221. A poor cotter in Erin had three sons, the youngest was named Arthur. After his parents' death, Arthur went forth to seek his fortune. One day the Half-Slim Champion challenged him to a game of cards. Arthur won and got thereby a castle and possessions. The same thing happened a second time and Arthur won a wife. The third time he won a hound. When the Half-Slim Champion came a fourth time, Arthur was advised by his wife not to play. He played, however, and lost, and was therefore placed by the champion under bonds to go searching "till you find the birth that has never been born, and that never will be." Next morning Arthur departed, and came to the house of the son of the King of Lochlin with whom he took service.

<sup>92</sup> Curtin states that he obtained this story of one Shea, Kil Vicadown, West of Dingle, Kerry.

Here he delivered his master of a dragon who was devastating his land, and then set forth to find the wife of the King of Lochlin's son who had been taken away to the Eastern World by a five-headed giant. He found the giant and killed him, and took back the wife of the King's son with him. The King's son was ready to do anything for Arthur, he was so thankful to him. "Then find out for me who is the birth that has never been born, and that never will be." The King's son said that it was an easy task.

ii. [*Second Prologue to the Tale.*]

In a hole in the wall near the fireplace, the King's son kept his own father hid. He brought out the King of Lochlin and asked him Arthur's question. The old man refused to answer, and so the son put him to stand on a red-hot griddle. There he stood till the marrow was melting in the bones of his knees, and then he gave way and told the following story :

iii. [*The King of Lochlin's Story.*]

I was walking out beyond there in the garden one day, when I came on a beautiful rod, which I cut and took with me. I discovered soon after that that was a rod of enchantment, and I never let it go from me. When I went walking or riding in the day, I took the rod with me. In the night, I slept with it under my pillow. Misfortune came on me at last ; for I left the rod in my chamber one time that I started away to go fowling. After I had gone a good piece of road, I remembered the rod, and hurried home then to get it. When I came to the castle I found a dark tall man inside in my chamber with the queen. They saw me, and I turned from the door to let them slip out, and think that I had not seen them. I went to the door not long after, and opened it. Your<sup>93</sup> mother was standing inside, not two feet from the threshold. She struck me right there with the rod, and made a wild deer of me. When she had made me a deer she let out a great pack of hounds ; for every hand's breadth of my body there was a savage dog to tear me,

<sup>93</sup> This, of course, was spoken to the King of Lochlin's son.

and hunt me to death. The hounds chased me, and followed till I ran to the far-away mountains. There I escaped. So great was my swiftness and strength that I brought my life with me. After that I went back to injure the queen ; and I did every harm in my power to her grain, and her crops, and her gardens. One day she sprang up from behind a stone wall, when I thought no one near, and struck me with a rod, and made a wolf of me. She called a hunt then. Hounds and men chased me fiercely till evening. At nightfall I escaped to an island in a lake where no man was living. Next day I went around each perch of that island : I searched every place and found only a she-wolf. But the wolf was a woman enchanted years before,—enchanted when she was within one week of her time to give birth to a hero. There she was ; but the hero could not be born unless she received her own form again. There was little to eat on that island for the she-wolf, and still less after I came. What I suffered from hunger in that place no man can know ; for I had a wolf's craving, and only scant food to stop it. One day above another, I was lying half asleep, half famished, and dreaming. I thought that a kid was there near me. I snapped at it, and awoke. I had torn open the side of the she-wolf. Before me was an infant, which grew to the size of a man in one moment. That man is the birth that has never been born, and never will be ; that man is the Half-Slim Champion.

§222. I have quoted these two stories, because one of them is categorically told by Balor, who is otherwise one of the subjects of our main theme, and because together they form an excellent example of a well known theme, which is abundantly documented, and which has been closely studied by Professor G. L. Kittredge.<sup>94</sup> The subject of work is the text of a Latin

<sup>94</sup> *SNLP*, Vol. VIII.

story found in a manuscript of the 14th century in the Bodleian Library, and edited for the first time by Prof. Kittredge. The study is so detailed, and the notes appended to it are so ample, that I may be safely excused for accepting Prof. Kittredge's conclusions and for referring the reader for all details to the work itself, which is a rich mine for those who wish to study the material of legend.

§223. The different versions of the *Werewolf's Story*, as it may be called, are thus classified by Professor Kittredge. He finds that all the Irish versions are closely related and go back to a common source. In this he is undoubtedly right, but it should be noted that even the Irish group, which he calls *I*, seems to be derived from two distinct sources, these two sources, of course, being ultimately descended from a common Irish original. Those sources are (a) a version in which as in  $\Delta$ , the *Defence of the Child* is introduced, and (2) versions in which, as in  $\Delta 1$ , there is no mention of the *Defence of the Child*.<sup>95</sup> This group *I*, with *G* [*Arthur and Gorlagon*], represents a common original which is ultimately connected with *M* [*Lai de Melion*] and *B* [*Bisclavret*].

§224. He further finds that underlying the composite tale are two distinct Irish stories, namely *The Fairy Wife* and the *Werewolf's Tale* proper. *The Fairy Wife* is well exemplified in *Pwyll* the first branch of the Mabinogi, where a fée becomes the wife of a mortal, but is captured by a former lover or suitor from Fairyland. *The Werewolf's Tale* proper was a "kind of exemplum, illustrating the fickleness of women. A man is

<sup>95</sup> Kittredge's statement that "an entirely independent anecdote (*The Defence of the Child*) has been incorporated into the werewolf's adventures in both *G* [*Arthur and Gorlagon*] and *I*, [the Irish stories] but is lacking in *B* [the *Bisclavret* of Marie de France] and *M* [the *Lai de Melion*] is a little misleading. This incident is absent from  $\Delta 1$  (his C2) one of the texts included in *I*.

a natural werewolf forced to spend part of his time in wolfish shape. His wife who has a lover, learns his secret, and compels him to remain in his beast form by removing from his control the means of disenchantment."<sup>96</sup> Finally, the king of the country restores him to his own shape, and the wife and her lover are punished. "In Ireland, the two stories, (*The Fairy Wife* and *The Werewolf's Tale*) were combined into a single saga."<sup>97</sup> Later this combination was put in a frame. A quester is introduced, Arthur in *Arthur and Gorlagon*; Art, son of the King of Leinster in  $\Delta$ ; Arthur in  $\Delta 1$ , and he is put under bonds to solve a difficulty which involves hearing the Werewolf's story.

§225. Professor Kittredge regards *Arthur and Gorlagon* as a Welsh form of this composite whole, "a Welsh *mabinogi* preserved in a Latin redaction."<sup>98</sup> Here the learned author has, I think, prejudged an important question. *Arthur and Gorlagon* is not a *mabinogi*, and even were it found in Welsh, could not possibly be described by that word. It would represent rather a parallel development to the *mabinogion*; that is to say, it would be a consciously "composed" literary form using as its basis a Welsh *cyfarwyddyd* or spoken tale of entertainment. In Wales, as far as Welsh material goes, these early spoken tales became literary without the aid of the Arthurian Legend proper; but here Arthur and his court form the framework of the *cyfarwyddyd* in precisely the same way as in Chrestien de Troyes's *Ivain* or in the different versions of the Perceval legend. In short, the Arthur of *Arthur et Gorlagon* is the later Arthur of the Continent.

<sup>96</sup> *Arthur and Gorlagon*, 251.

<sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.* 261.

<sup>98</sup> The only evidence that I can find which might lead one to suppose that *Arthur and Gorlagon* is a translation of a Welsh original is the use of the word *diviciae*, (p. 150), for "dominions," "realm," exactly like the Welsh *cyvoeth*.

§226. Among the most significant portion of Prof. Kittredge's researches is his inquiry concerning the husband's name. Arthur, as the quester, visits successively three brothers, Gorgol, Gorbeil, and Gorlagon. "We may," he says, "safely infer that Gorgol, Gorbeil and Gorlagon are but three manifestations of the same person,—in accordance with a feature well known in Irish tales."<sup>99</sup> He then proves that *Gorgol* and *Gorlagon* are debased forms of the old Welsh *Gurguol* [rather *Gurgual*] and a longer form of the same name, *Gurguallaun*,<sup>400</sup> and, in accordance with Rhys's suggestion,<sup>1</sup> equates *gual* with the Teutonic *wulf*, and interprets the whole name as "man-wolf," "were-wolf." He further suggests that *Gorbeil* has precisely the same meaning, but adds "the second syllable is conceivably a corruption of the Welsh *Beli*, in which case *Gorbeil* may be compared with the Breton name *Uuoruli* (*Guor-uili*, *Uur-uili*)." The meaning of *beil* is doubtful but it may be equated with *W.bala*, which means "wolf."<sup>2</sup>

### *Crime and Punishment.*

§227. We have already seen that we may regard the *Balor* of Ireland as equivalent to the *Beli* of Wales, and it is quite possible that both names mean "wolf." If so, it was quite natural that the story of the were-wolf should in Ireland become attached to Balor, as we find it in  $\Delta$ , and to the story of Balor as related in Wales in the very mixed collection of *Math*. The connexion of the *Wolf* story with *Math* is certainly the most intricate of all; it touches the whole mabinogi at different points and leaves detached parts of itself at those points,

<sup>99</sup> *Arthur and Gorlagon*, p. 201.

<sup>400</sup> Just as we have *Iudgual* (Idwal) and *Iudguallaun*, *Catgual* and *Catguallaun*, and, in Breton, *Tutuual* and *Tutuallon*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on Welsh Philology* (2nd), pp. 379, 406.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of Professor Loth's plea (*ACL*, I, 457) for "fox" as a meaning. The very texts which he quotes demand the meaning "wolf."

to be disguised later and modified by a redactor who naturally wishes his story to read like sense. We may start our investigation with the most clearly defined portion of the original theme, namely the punishment which the wife's paramour has to suffer. We need not labour the point that the punishment in popular tales generally fits the crime,<sup>3</sup> and one would expect that in the *Blodeuwedd* portion of *Math*, both the erring wife and the paramour would be treated by the husband or the husband's deliverer just as the husband had been treated by them.

§228. Let us then, as a preliminary, consider the crimes in *Math* together with their punishment :

I.

<i>Crime.</i>	<i>Punishment.</i>
1. Gronwy and Blodeuwedd transformed Llew into a bird, (eagle).	1. Blodeuwedd was transformed into a bird (owl).
2. Gronwy had done this by transfixing Llew with a magic spear.	2. Gronwy was killed with a spear.
3. Gwydion and Gilvaethwy raped Goewin.	3. Gwydion and Gilvaethwy were transformed into deer, wolves, swine.

§229. Of these three pairs, only one pair strictly fulfils the requirement of having the punishment to fit the crime, namely the first. Of that pair the second portion, the punishment, depends, as we have seen, on an independent story or tradition well known to poets and story-tellers in Wales that the Owl was originally a woman who was turned into a bird. It is natural therefore that the portion which consists of Blodeuwedd's transformation should be the most stable, and that whatever inconsistencies were found in the related incidents should have been modified to suit this well-known owl transformation.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the stories in Chap. II of Henderson's *Survivals*; Marie de France's *Equitan*; and the story of *Sidi Numan* in the *Arabian Nights*.

*Substitutions.*

§230. We may now argue backwards. If Blodeuwedd was transformed into a bird as a punishment for having transformed her husband, then she too must be made (argued the redactor) to transform her husband into a bird, in spite of what the original form of the story may have contained. If we are right in assuming that the story of Balor is reproduced here in a much altered form, then the original version contained the transformation of the husband into a wolf, which was inconsistent with the widely-known tradition of Blodeuwedd's punishment. So the change was made by substituting an eagle-transformation for a wolf-transformation.

§231. A glance at the mechanism of the transformation will show that yet another substitution has taken place. Llew is coaxed by his wife to divulge the manner *in which he may be killed* and accordingly a *spear* is prepared in a prescribed manner, and Llew is induced to prepare himself *to enter his bath* and to take up a certain position in a certain place. When, however, he is transfixd by Gronwy's spear, *he is not killed*, but is transformed into an eagle. The spear is the instrument of slaughter ; the instrument of transformation is the wand. We shall see that the bath is an original feature of the wolf-transformation story, and that the spear, on the other hand, has crept in from the other Balor story, where it is an original and indispensable feature. In short the story of Balor slain with a spear had become mixed with the story of Balor transformed into a wolf with a wand by his wife and her lover, and the mixture has become attached to Llew because he was the husband of the woman transformed by a magic wand for her faithlessness. This explanation anticipates the proofs, but it is necessary, for the sake of clearness, to indicate it here.



§232. The substitution of eagle for wolf was all the more natural, as there were current many different tales of bird- and eagle-transformations. For instance, the very well-known tale of the daughters of Lir who were turned into swans, or that of Oengus who found fifty young women spending alternate years as women and swans,<sup>4</sup> or of Mider and Etain who changed themselves into swans,<sup>5</sup> or of the man enchanted into a raven and restored with a magic rod.<sup>6</sup> According to the Cornish belief, when Arthur was killed, he was turned into a raven,<sup>7</sup> and we have an Irish account of a man turned into a raven and restored with a magic rod.<sup>8</sup> Of course there are many examples of men being turned into eagles, both in Ireland and elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> The scream which Llew gave when he was hit by the magic spear and his disappearance are paralleled in many Irish tales, and the incident in general is described in the same words. When Oscar in the House of Blar-Buie poured the hot soup over the eagle, "she gave a terrible shriek, (*thug e sgriach fhuathasach*), and went through the wall, and he had not a second sight of her, (*cha robh'n ath shealladh aige dh'e*)."<sup>10</sup> When Eva wife of Lir was changed into a demon to punish her for changing her children into swans, she went "with a scream flying into the air."<sup>11</sup>

§233. Let us now substitute the usual form of transformation found in the tales of the *Unfaithful Wife*, and particularly in the story of Balor. Table I (§228) would then be changed as follows :

<sup>4</sup> *Cycle Mythologique*, p. 288.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>6</sup> *HT*, p. 221.

<sup>7</sup> *WIFT*, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> *HT*, p. 221.

<sup>9</sup> As, for example, in *Yellow Fairy Book*, p. 31. *Myths and Folktales*, p. 71.

<sup>10</sup> *Waifs and Strays*, iii, p. 69. See also p. 156.

<sup>11</sup> *OCR*, p. 15.

## II.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Gronwy and Blodeuwedd transformed Llew into a wolf.          | 1. Blodeuwedd in punishment was transformed into an owl.             |
| 2. Gronwy had done this by transfixing Llew with a magic spear. | 2. Gronwy was killed by Llew with a spear.                           |
| 3. Gilvaethwy with Gwydion's help raped Goewin.                 | 3. Gwydion and Gilvaethwy were transformed into deer, wolves, swine. |

§234. At this point we may ask what indications of the transformation of Gronwy and Blodeuwedd into wolves are still found in *Math*? The answer brings us to the consideration of the third part, namely the punishment of Gwydion and Gilvaethwy, who were transformed into deer, wolves, swine, and to the mechanism of the "slaying" of Llew. The vestiges of the wolf-transformation then are (1) the punishment of Gwydion and Gilvaethwy and (2) the fact that Llew, when "slain" (transformed into an eagle) was naked and entering a bath.

§235. When Math returned to his court after the battle with Pryderi, Gwydion and Gilvaethwy "came not near the court." But when they had been proclaimed outlaws and "their food and drink had been prohibited them," they were forced to come back to Math, who proceeded to punish them. He took his magic wand and *first* made Gilvaethwy into a hind, and then seized Gwydion who had started to escape, and made him into a stag, and said to them: "Since ye are tied together, I will make you go together, and that ye be paired, and of the same nature as the wild beasts in whose form ye are." Next year, he transformed them into a sow and a boar, only that this time he changed the sex of both. And the third year, he transformed them into a wolf and she-wolf, again changing the sex. In each transformation, the pair brought forth offspring, and the three were transformed into human children and bore the names of Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, and Hychtwn, and were commemorated in a verse as being the children of Gilvaethwy, Gwydion not being named.

*The Wizard and his Unfaithful Wife.*

§236. Let us consider the details. It was natural, of course, that Math should seize Gilvaethwy first, because he had been the actual offender. But why change him into a female animal? Gwydion tried to escape, because at first Math was only concerned with the chief offender, but he was also punished by being changed into a stag. Here then, if we leave out the names for a moment, we have an account of a punishment by a man who is a shape-shifter and a wizard of another person by changing that person into a female animal. It is obvious that in the original tale the person to be so punished was a woman, as a change of sex as well as a change of species is unknown among transformation tales. It is clear also that the first to be seized of the pair was the chief offender, and the second only an accessory. The accessory is changed into a male animal, a stag; that is, he was a man and not a woman. With the knowledge that we possess of  $\Delta$ ,  $\Delta_1$ , *Arthur and Gorlagon*, and such tales, we may assume that, originally, the wizard punished a woman and her lover by changing them into animals, because that woman had previously transformed him, the wizard, into an animal after getting hold of his magic rod. A summary of some stories of this type will be helpful:

§237.  $\Delta$

The husband goes from his castle, leaving behind a whip.<sup>12</sup> He returns to get it and finds that his wife has run away with a cripple. When he overtakes them, his wife strikes him with a "rod of enchantment" and transforms him into a white horse. As a horse he lives on the pastures, but his wife hears of him and comes to him again and transforms him into a wolf. After many adventures, his father-in-law gets hold of the magic wand and strikes him with it, transforming him back into a man. The father-in-law burns the cripple but spares the wife.

<sup>12</sup> It is almost certain that originally it was his "rod of enchantment" that he had left behind. The versions, ( $\Delta_1$  for instance) lay great stress on the importance of not letting the rod get into any hands but the owner's.

## §238. Δ I.

A man finds a rod of enchantment by chance, One day he leaves it behind when he goes out of his house, and goes back to get it. He finds a dark tall man with his wife. The wife strikes him with the rod and transforms him into a deer. After some time, his wife sees him again, strikes him with a magic rod, and transforms him into a wolf. He consorts with a she-wolf who had been a woman, and offspring is born to them, who becomes a man as soon as he is born.

§239. *Morraha*.<sup>13</sup>

A man is changed by his wife into a raven, then to a horse, then to a fox, and lastly into a wolf.

§240. *Gearhoidh Iarla*.<sup>14</sup>

Earl Gerald had a great castle, and was deep in the black art, and could change himself into whatever shape he pleased. "His lady knew that he had this power, and often asked him to let her into some of the secrets, but he would never gratify her." But "at last he let her know that if she took the least fright while he'd be out of his natural form, he would never recover it," till after many generations. Yielding to her prayers he at last transformed himself into a goldfinch. But on seeing a hawk chase the goldfinch she was frightened. So her husband disappeared and she never saw him again.

§241. *Illan Eachtach and the Lianan*.<sup>14</sup>

Illan's wife Tuirrean was changed by Illan's fairy mistress Uchtdealbh (Fair Bosom)<sup>15</sup> into a wolf-hound by means of a druidic wand. During her transformation she gave birth to the two celebrated hounds Brann and Sceoluing; Uchtdealbh afterwards restored Tuirrean to her own form and was willing to restore the two hounds also, "but Fion preferred them to remain as they were."

§242. *Bisclavret*.<sup>16</sup>

In the days of King Arthur there lived in Brittany a knight, whose wife was greatly vexed because he left her three days in every week, and no one knew where he went. One day the wife presses him to

<sup>13</sup> *WIFT*, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *LFIC*, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Rather "Breast-form."

<sup>16</sup> *Marie de France*, pp. 75 ff.

tell her his secret, and says, "I rise in the morning and lie down at night in such a fear of losing you that, unless I am reassured I shall die of my fright. Tell me where you go, that my mind may be at rest during your absence." After much pressing he tells her that he is a were-wolf three days in the week in hiding in the forest. She then asks him what he does with his clothes when he is a were-wolf, and he tells her that he must take them off, but refuses at first to tell her where he puts them because if he should lose them, he would have to be a wolf all his life. At last, after she has taunted him with not loving her, the knight tells his wife that he hides his garments under a large stone near an old chapel in the forest. When the wife hears all this, her love is changed to loathing, and she finds another lover, a knight who had loved her for a long time. She tells her lover all her husband's secret, and he then goes to the forest and steals the husband's clothes. The husband thereupon remains a were-wolf and is found in the forest by the King who makes a pet of the wolf and allows him to remain about the court.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile the false wife is married to her lover. When the lover comes to the King's court, the wolf savagely attacks him, and on a later occasion attacks the wife and bites off her nose. This makes the King think, and so he puts the lady and her husband in prison. On being closely questioned they confess what they have done and are commanded by the King to fetch the clothes. The clothes are laid before the wolf, and the wolf and the clothes are placed in a private room. When the king enters the room he finds the long-lost knight asleep. The wife and her lover are banished to a strange country where they have many children. All the women descended from them are born without noses, so that they got the surname of *énasées*.<sup>18</sup>

#### §243. *Mac Righ Eireann agus Ceann Gruagach*.<sup>19</sup>

A man is hated by his wife because she is in love with a black from her own country who has put her under enchantment. One day she strikes her husband with a magic rod and transforms him into a white horse. A second time she strikes him and transforms him into a wolf. He escapes and is befriended by his father who strikes him with the magic rod and restores him to his own form. The black man goes away, but the wife is spared.

<sup>17</sup> This befriending of the wolf by a king is a common and constant feature of most forms of the story, but I have neglected it in this study as there is nothing in *Math* corresponding to it.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the surname *Trwyndwn* in Welsh, "broken-nose." Iorwerth, son of Owain Gwynedd, was so called.

<sup>19</sup> *The King of Ireland's son and the chief Magician. Annales de Bretagne*, XV, pp. 281 ff.

§244. *An Cloidheamh soluis agus fios fáth an aon sgeil ar na mnaibh.*<sup>20</sup>

A man is struck with a magical rod by his wife who had fallen in love with a swineherd. First she transforms him into a bull, then an old white *garran* hack, then a wolf. He is transformed back into his own form by one of the king's sons. Nothing is said of the fate of the wife.

§245. *Arthur et Gorlagon.*<sup>21</sup>

In a King's garden there grows a branch (*virga*) or rod with which, if a man strike himself and says "Be a wolf, and have the nature (senses) of a wolf," he becomes a wolf. The King's wife loves a youth, the son of a pagan king. She pesters her husband to tell her the secret of the garden. When she learns it, she steals the rod and strikes him with it, saying, "Be a wolf, and have the nature of a wolf." The transformed husband flees to the wood, and the wife marries the youth and assumes the government of the country. The wolf-husband then consorts with a she-wolf and they have two wolf-cubs. His cubs are killed, and he himself is finally befriended by the king of a neighbouring country. The King's wife carries on an intrigue with the butler and is exposed by the wolf; the butler is eviscerated and hanged, and the wife drawn asunder by horses and burnt. The King finds out the wolf's secret, and having obtained the rod, after torturing the wife to make her confess, strikes the wolf with the rod saying, "Be a man and have a man's nature." The wolf is re-transformed into his own guise. The lover is put to death, but the wife is spared, and sits at the King's table with her lover's head in a dish before her.

§246. Only the barest outlines of these tales are given, but it should be noticed that they are always part of a framework which, as we have already mentioned, includes a quester who goes to find either an *anoeth* such as the Sword of Light or the "truth about women." An essential of the framework is that the erring wife should be present when the husband is telling the story of his transformation. Her punishment therefore is either omitted altogether or, as in *Arthur and Gorlagon*, is of such a kind that it necessitates her presence

<sup>20</sup> *The Sword of Light and the Knowledge of the cause of the one story about women.* ZCP, I, p. 489 ff.

<sup>21</sup> SNPL, VIII, p. 153 ff.

when the story is told. The very plot, therefore, makes it necessary that the original punishment should be omitted. It is clear from the second incident of the *Unfaithful Wife* in *Arthur and Gorlagon* that a severe punishment was always inflicted when the plot of the tale did not make it impossible. We must therefore find, to fit our requirements, a punishment which (a) is adequate, (b) fits the crime, (c) allows the wife to be present when the story is told. The punishment in *Arthur and Gorlagon* fulfils conditions (a) and (c) but not (b). None of the conditions are satisfied in *Bisclavret*; in the rest the punishment, when mentioned, is confined to the lover. Now, the original punishment is carefully preserved in *Math*, but like nearly all the other incidents has changed its place. The punishment of Gwydion and Gilvaethwy is originally the punishment of the Unfaithful Wife and her Lover. Such a punishment, though in a slightly different form, is actually found in Celtic romance.

*Caradoc.*

§247. In *Caradoc*,<sup>22</sup> the enchanter Eliavrès for the first three nights after the marriage takes the place of the husband, Caradoc, putting with him in the place of Isaune, the young wife, three female animals in her form in succession,—a bitch, a sow, and a mare. The child born to the wife is the son of the enchanter Eliavrès and not of the King. Finally, many years afterwards, the husband of Isaune punishes Eliavrès by making him lie, successively, with a greyhound bitch, a sow, and a mare. On these animals he begets the hound Guinaloc,<sup>23</sup> the boar Tortain,<sup>24</sup> and the horse Loriagor.<sup>25</sup> Gaston Paris<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Discussed by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XXVIII, pp. 214 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Other forms are *Guinalor*, *Guinalot*, and *Guinelox*.

<sup>24</sup> Other forms are *Cortain*, *Courtain*, *Cortants*. This boar is clearly *Torc Tortain*, the *Twrch Trwyth* of *Culhwch ac Olwen*.

<sup>25</sup> Other forms are *Loragor*, *Loriagort*, *Lorzagos*, *Lucanor*. This horse is mentioned in the triads (*Loth. Mab.* ii), as *Lluagor*, the horse of *Caradawc Vreichyras*. <sup>26</sup> *Romania*, p. 217.

suggests that originally these three animals were the sons of Caradoc, begotten when the animals were substituted for his wife. It seems more likely that the story is a mixture of two distinct themes : (a) An enchanter puts himself (as in *Pwyll, Mongan*, etc.) or a friend (as in the account of Arthur's begetting by Uther) into the form of the husband, and so begets the child, who is thus, like Arthur, the son of the enchanter's friend, or, like Mongan, the son of the enchanter himself; (b) An enchanter transforms the husband into three animals in succession, and thus is enabled to live with his wife. As a punishment the husband afterwards transforms wife and lover into a pair of the same animals,<sup>27</sup> and they beget offspring while in that form. The basic difference between the two plots is the matter of the wife's consent. In the former, the wife is an unwilling victim ; in the latter, she is guilty, and herself plots against her husband. I have no doubt that the *Caradoc* story was originally of the former type, and was later influenced by a story of the exact form of that which we have supposed *Math* to have originally contained.<sup>28</sup>

§248. There are one or two other points which may be lightly touched on, since for the most part they are quite obvious. First, some of the versions insist on the necessity of the husband being without his clothes when the transformation takes place :

<sup>27</sup> It must be remembered that the transformation of a pair—a man and a woman—into animals is common in folk-lore, and the transformation of two men into animals of different sexes is (as far as I am aware) unknown. There is a Polish story of a witch who laid a girdle of human skin at the threshold of a door where a marriage-feast was being held. On the bridal pair stepping across the girdle, they were transformed into wolves. (*Curious Myths*, p. 151). In *William of Palerne* (*Manual*, p. 20) the lovers, under the guidance of a *werewolf*, flee clothed as hart and hind.

<sup>28</sup> In the Arabian tale of *Sidi Numan*, a wife sprinkles her husband with water and transforms him into a dog. He is put back in his own form by another enchantress. As a punishment he turns his wife into a mare by sprinkling her with water. Kittredge, (*SNLP*, pp. 171-2), notes that this story is the same as that of *Vāmadatta and his Wicked Wife* in the *Kathāsārītsāgara*, Bk. XII, chap. 68 (Tawney's translation, II, 134 ff.)



in other versions this has been rationalised and, there, it is necessary for him to be ready to enter his bath. Secondly, many of the versions record the begetting of wolf-cubs by a man who is in wolf's form ; this seems to be an essential part of the story, as in one version it accounts for the famous wolf-hounds of Ireland. Thirdly, the formula in *Arthur et Gorlagon*, "*Sis lupus et habeas sensum lupi*"—"Be a wolf and have a wolf's nature," is contained in *Math*. Fourthly, the husband in many versions is transformed into different animals in succession, generally a stag, a wolf and a horse. These points should be particularly noted as they correspond to definite features in *Math*.

*The Unfaithful Wife.*

§249. We may then reconstruct the story of the *Unfaithful Wife* thus, giving the husband the name Balor as in  $\Delta$  :

*Balor has a magic rod by means of which he transforms himself into an animal. His wife and her lover plot to rid themselves of him but the secret of his transformation is unknown. The wife by pretending great love and solicitude for his well-being learns his secret. If he is found without his clothes and is struck with the magic rod with the words "Be a certain animal and have that animal's nature," he will be transformed into that animal. The wife succeeds with the lover's help in finding her husband without his clothes, strikes him with the rod, and repeats the formula. He becomes a stag. As a stag he harries her, and a second time she transforms him into a boar. The third time she transforms him into a wolf. While he is a wolf, a friend of his learns of his disappearance, and having gone in search of him, finds him, and with a magic wand re-transforms him into his own shape. Balor now proceeds to punish his wife and her lover. He seizes the wife and transforms her into a hind. The lover tries to escape but Balor seizes him and*

*transforms him in the same way into a stag. Next year he transforms them to a boar and sow, and finally, in the third year transforms them into a wolf and she-wolf. In each transformation they have offspring. These offspring were exhibited by Balor to all his guests as proof of his wife's shame and as part of her punishment.*

I have given the name Balor to the husband, since there is reason to believe, as it has been pointed out already, that one of the original versions of the story so named the husband. In *Math*, however, the greater part of the tale concerns Llew and Blodeuwedd, and I propose, for the present, to adhere to the names in the present version of *Math*.

§250. We may now still further reconstruct the list of crimes and punishment as we left it in Table II.

### III.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Gronwy and Blodeuwedd transform Llew into (1) a stag, (2) a boar, (3) a wolf. | 1. Gronwy and Blodeuwedd are punished by being transformed into (1) a pair of stags, (2) a pair of wild swine, (3) a pair of wolves. |
| 2. Gronwy has transfixed Llew with a magic spear.                                | 2. Gronwy is killed by Llew with a spear.  |

<sup>a</sup>The second half of the third pair in Table II now disappears of. The it becomes in this stage of the reconstruction an essential the t of the first pair. We are, however, left with the second bridal (Curio The appropriateness of the punishment makes this pair lovers, nable, but we have already seen that both the crime and <sup>28</sup>In unishment here involved are not those properly belonging water ar. onwy. His crime was to transform Llew into different by anoth by sprinS by means of a magic wand. Whence, then, has the that this some into the story? And whom did Llew kill with a *Kathāsarit*s

*Evolution of Blodeuwedd and Gilvaethwy Portions.*

§251. If we refer to the story of Balor and Lugh, and especially to the reconstruction in Part I, we can see at once that it was an essential part of Llew's life-story that he should slay his grandfather with a specially prepared spear. The preparation of the spear is minutely described in *Math*. It was to be wrought only on Sundays during the time of Mass, and the fashioning of it was to take a whole year. It is used by Gronwy to "kill" Llew, and (presumably) used by Llew in his vengeance. If the original version contained the slaying by Llew of his grandfather with a magic spear, and if, as we know to have happened, the grandfather has disappeared from the story, then it was necessary for some one to take his place, and it was inevitable that the place should be taken by Llew's enemy Gronwy. We can now trace the probable evolution of this part of the story.

§252. i. First, we have the different items from the various stories and traditions and from the reconstruction in §249 :

(a) *The owl's name is Blodeuwedd. She was changed from a woman into an owl.*

(b) *Gwydion and Gilvaethwy insulted Math by raping his footholder.*

(c) *Llew slew his grandfather with a magically prepared spear.*

(d) *Blodeuwedd, Llew's wife, had a lover Gronwy Peur. Blodeuwedd and Gronwy with a magic wand transformed Llew into a stag, a boar, a wolf. Gwydion befriended him as before, and with the magic wand re-transformed Llew into his own shape. Llew then in punishment transformed Gronwy and Blodeuwedd into a pair of stags, swine, wolves.*

§253. ii. The first change is the substitution in (c) of Gronwy Peur for the grandfather. We then have :

(a) *The owl's name is Blodeuwedd. She was changed from a woman to an owl.*

(b) *Gwydion and Gilvaethwy insulted Math by raping his foot-holder.*

(c) *Now absorbed in (d).*

(d) *Blodeuwedd, Llew's wife, had a lover Gronwy Pevr. Blodeuwedd and Gronwy with a magic wand transformed Llew into a stag, a boar, a wolf. Gwydion re-transformed Llew into his own shape. Llew then in punishment slew Gronwy with a magic spear. Llew punished Blodeuwedd's crime by changing her into a hind, a sow, a she-wolf.*

§254. iii. Now (argues the redactor) if Gronwy was slain with a magic spear, then the crime for which he was thus punished was the slaying of Llew with the same spear. About the same time, (a), that is, the story of *Blodeuwedd* "Flower-face," affected the story of *Blodeuwedd*, and *Blodeuwedd's* traditional transformation into an owl was substituted for her transformation into a hind, sow, she-wolf. This stage would then be represented thus :

(a) *Absorbed in (d).*

(b) *Gwydion and Gilvaethwy insulted Math by raping his foot-holder.*

(c) *Already absorbed in (d).*

(d) *Blodeuwedd, Llew's wife, had a lover Gronwy Pevr. Gronwy incited by Blodeuwedd, pierced Llew with a magic spear so that he became a stag, boar, wolf. Gwydion re-transformed Llew into his own shape. Llew then in punishment slew Gronwy with the same magic spear and transformed Blodeuwedd into an owl.*

§255. iv. The transformation of two persons into a pair of stags, pair of swine, pair of wolves, still remained in tradition. It was a striking and dramatic tale which could not be easily forgotten and would not be likely to drop from the story.

So that punishment was transferred to the other pair of offenders, Gwydion and Gilvaethwy, and that is why they were made animals of different sexes, because originally the story was told of a man and a woman. At the same time, with the transference of the punishment, occurred the transference of the crime. As far as Gronwy was concerned nothing more was necessary, to suit his punishment, than the piercing of Llew with the spear. But there was Blodeuwedd's punishment, and what was her crime? The crimes of Gronwy and Blodeuwedd, originally one and the same, have two different punishments. The legend then, develops to represent Llew as (a) having been pierced, (b) having been transformed to a bird. And so we get the final form as found in *Math* :

(a) Absorbed in (d).

(b) *Gwydion and Gilvaethwy insulted Math by raping his foot-holder ; they were punished by Math by being transformed into stags, swine, wolves.*

(c) Absorbed in (d).

(d) *Blodeuwedd, Llew's wife, had a lover Gronwy Pevr. Gronwy, incited by Blodeuwedd, pierced Llew with a magic spear, so that he became an eagle. Gwydion re-transformed Llew into his own shape. Llew then in punishment (or Gwydion acting on Llew's behalf) slew Gronwy with the same magic spear and transformed Blodeuwedd into an owl.*



**PART VI.**  
**MINOR INCIDENTS IN THE BALOR-WOLF**  
**PORTION**

§256. The incidents with which we have so far dealt belong in general to a distinct tradition which is represented by the various Celtic tales which we have sketched above. As the incidents are presented in *Math*, they have attracted to themselves a vast number of other traditions each of which happened to have one feature or more in common with the "Balor-Wolf" tradition. This, of course, has happened in all the portions which we have already studied, and I may be allowed to say a few words in general explanation here. If the succession of incidents in the original form of the story be represented by letters of the alphabet thus,—*ABDF LTVX*,

and the incidents in another originally unrelated story be also represented thus,—*GHJ LTVZ*,

we generally find that portion *LTV*, which is common to both series, has caused the second and minor series to be incorporated in part into the first thus,—*ABDF J LTVZ*,

where *J* and *Z* are importations from the first into the second. If this were all, the elucidation of sources would be a comparatively simple affair, but unfortunately there is no end to the different combinations of accidentally related incidents which any story may finally contain. Thus, reverting to our alphabetical symbols, the third,—*ABDFJ LTVZ*

may further be contaminated by a tale with the incidents *ABCEG* and, during the process of assimilating the incident *CEG* which is related to the common factor *AB*, may, in compensation, drop some of the essentials of *LTV*, and further, during that process, change the place, order, and consequent significance of the existing incidents. So that it is a not uncommon phenomenon that an original *ABDF LTVX*,

having undergone the changes mentioned above, should appear as *LBCEJTZ*.

Even then the evolution is not complete. When no more additions, and no more changes in the order of the incidents



are made, certain parts may become dulled in significance and only appear as pale ghosts of their former self. The final form then would be something like

LbCeJTz.

And that is why such books as this are written.

### *The Transformation of Llew.*

§257. Our enquiries have so far brought us to the conclusion that the account in *Math* of the transformation of Llew is made up of four main elements :

1. The Story of Balor and Lugh as exemplified in *B<sub>1</sub>* and *B<sub>2</sub>*.
2. The legend of the Owl, Blodeuwedd.
3. The Story of Blodeuedd, that is the story of Bláthnat and Cúrói.
4. The *Balor-Wolf* story as exemplified in *Δ*, *Arthur et Gorlagon*, and many others.

Now there is a very important portion of (3) which is common to (4), and it is certain that this identity of one portion helped the final assimilation. That portion we shall show in two parts, *A*, the essentials of *Blodeuedd*, and *B*, the essentials of *Balor-Wolf*.

#### *A.*

1. Bláthnat's husband is a magician and shape-shifter.
2. Cúrói has a secret, without the knowledge of which he may not be killed.<sup>29</sup>
3. Cúrói is cajoled by his wife for his secret under guise of caring for him.
4. Cúrói is killed in a certain position, that is, while he is being washed (i.e. without his clothes) and having his head attended to.

#### *B.*

1. Balor is a magician and shape-shifter.
2. Balor has a secret, without the knowledge of which he may not be transformed to an animal.
3. Balor is cajoled by his wife<sup>30</sup> for his secret under guise of caring for him.
4. Balor is transformed when he is in a certain position without his clothes.

<sup>29</sup> See in particular *ZCP*, IX, pp. 193 ff. For a study of the whole Cúrói theme, see R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*.

<sup>30</sup> See in particular the *Bisclavret* version summarised above.

§258. The various versions of the *Balor-Wolf* story differ greatly in the importance which they attach to the nakedness of the husband when he is struck by the wife with the magic rod. But that to be naked or to be without clothes is an essential for most magical transformations everyone with the least experience of fairy tales will recognise. Whether this goes back to the Swan-Maiden theme, where maidens bathing are transformed into swans,<sup>31</sup> it is outside our province to inquire, but it should be noted that the preparations for taking a bath, whether in the house or in the river, is an essential part of the normal transformation tale. The other feature which should be marked is the cajoling of the husband by the wife in order to obtain his secret. This, of course, goes back to a *Samson and Delilah* theme, and is always associated with accounts of husbands who are either wizards or have other supernatural gifts.

§259. A few instances will suffice to illustrate both points :

i. *The Cajoling of the Husband.*

- (a) The *Bisclavret* version of Balor summarised above.
- (b) Blaiman and the wife were planning to destroy Hung Up Naked. At last they made a plan to come at the knowledge. The woman tried to find the secret of his life, that is, where his life was hidden. Hung Up Naked said his life was in a block of wood, but Blaiman told her that she had been deceived. So she dressed the block of wood in silk and satin and jewels, and when Hung Up Naked saw it, he laughed. "Why do you laugh?" asked the woman. "Out of pity for you. It is not there that my life is at all." On hearing these words, she fainted, was stiff and cold for some time, till he began to fear she was dead. "What is the matter?" asked Hung Up Naked. "I did not think you would make sport of me. You know that I love you,

<sup>31</sup> As for instance the *Oidhe Chloinne Lir*, OCR, pp. 1 ff. Swan transformations are, of course, not confined to Celtic tales, and are probably more common in Teutonic tales. Such incidents may be studied in *Graelent* and *Guingamor*.

and why did you deceive me?" Hung Up Naked was wonderfully glad, and then proceeded to tell her all his secret, which she in turn communicated to Blaiman.<sup>32</sup>

§260. It should be noted that both in the above tale and in its Gaelic counterpart (see note below), the giant or wizard holds the woman as his captive. This, of course, shows that, even in the *Cúrói* theme, the cajoling of the wizard *Cúrói* by *Bláthnat* was an original feature.<sup>33</sup> This forms an additional link between the *Balor-Wolf* theme and the *Cúrói-Bláthnat* theme.<sup>34</sup>

§261. ii. *The Husband's Secret.*

When Blodeuwedd asks Lleu for the secret of his death, he answers that "unless God kill me, it is not easy to kill me." This seems to be a common idiom to convey the idea that a person bears a charmed life, and that he can not be killed in any of the usual ways. For instance, it is said of Cai, Arthur's seneschal:

*Ny bei duw ae digonhei*  
*Oed diheit agheu kei.*<sup>35</sup>

"Unless God should bring it about, the death of Cai was impossible."

*Llew's Dihenydd.*

§262. Llew then, after much cajoling by his wife, describes his *dihenydd*, or manner of death. He is one of the many persons in Celtic story who have their death *fated* for them, and unless the particular circumstances indicated by fate are present, such a man may not be put to death. (When Gwawl, in

<sup>32</sup> HT, pp. 399-40. Another version of the same kind is found in *Buachaillechd Chruachain*. FHT, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Another feature of interest is the plundering of the giant's castle by the deliverer, *ibid*, p. 121.

<sup>34</sup> The *Cajoling Wife* is a commonplace of folk-tales. For an interesting example, see *Sixty Folk Tales*, p. 202.

<sup>35</sup> BBC, 48b. *Diheit* (= *diheidd*) seems to mean "unapproachable," "elusive," "intangible." For further instances see RBP, 1048.23, 1384.24 (= MA, 225a), MA, 246a; *dieid*, RBP, 1029.3 (= MA, 363a), 1323.18 (= MA, 301b); *diheidwch*, MA, 166a=172b=RBP, 1439.24. See also Loth in ACL, I, 506.

*Pwyll*, had been tied up in a bag, and was being beaten by all the guests present, he cried out, "It was not my *dihenydd* to be killed in a bag," and he was thereupon released.) Llew finally reveals the manner of his death. As this does not correspond in all respects to the details of the actual preparation for his death,<sup>36</sup> it will be well to name separately first, each detail of his *dihenydd*, as he revealed them to Blodeuwedd, and secondly the details as actually carried out.

### I. *Llew's Own Statement.*

- A. *How he cannot be killed.*
- (a) He cannot be killed without a spear.
  - (b) The spear must be wrought only on Sunday during the time of Mass.
  - (c) He cannot be killed in a house, he cannot be killed outside.
  - (d) He cannot be killed on horseback, he cannot be killed afoot.
- B. *How he may be killed.*
- (e) A bath must be prepared for him.
  - (f) This must be by a riverside.
  - (g) There must be a well-thatched roof<sup>37</sup> over the bath.
  - (h) A he-goat must be placed by the bath.
  - (i) Llew must put one foot on the goat's back and the other on the edge of the bath.

<sup>36</sup> I have used the word "death," since these preparations were for Llew's death, though he was not actually killed but transformed into an eagle.

<sup>37</sup> The word used is *cromglwyd*, that is literally, a rounded hurdle,—like an open umbrella. The word is still used in Wales in the form of *cronglwyd* in the phrase, *dan gronglwyd rhywun* "under someone's roof," i.e., in his house. What is meant here is a round pointed thatched roof without sides, similar to those found in an African kraal.

II. *How his Death was encompassed.*

- (j) He went to the bath by the river Cynfael, having (presumably) undressed.
- (k) He came from the bath, and put on his trousers.
- (l) He put one foot on the back of a he-goat and the other on the edge of the bath.
- (m) He was struck with the magically prepared spear by Gronwy.

*The Bath and other Details.*

§263. Now the above account contains some discrepancies between I and II. First, there was no mention by Llew that he should enter the bath ; secondly, the putting on of his trousers in II is an addition which, one might think, would entirely spoil the whole preparation. Thirdly, though this is not strictly a discrepancy,—why was it necessary in order to overcome the prohibitions (a) (b) (c) (d) that the scene should be enacted by a river ? Fourthly, why was a he-goat necessary to overcome the prohibitions (a) (b) (c) (d) ? And fifthly, why must a bath be provided ? Taking the fifth point first, the bath appears because this, as we have seen above, was the one stable detail of a transformation story. It was necessary for a man to be entirely without his clothes before he could be transformed into an animal. In some versions, *Bisclavret* for instance, the hiding of the clothes is sufficient to prevent the man returning to his own form ; this is also true of the various Swan-Maiden stories. It is probable that we should distinguish two discrete variants of the story, (a) The husband becomes an animal by the peculiarity of his own nature and is prevented by the wife and her lover from returning to his own form, by hiding his clothes. (b) The husband can become an animal by striking himself with a magic rod (possibly when naked)

and is prevented by the wife and her lover from returning to his own form by hiding the magic rod from him. In time variant (a) which supplies a good reason for the bath, affected variant (b) where the absence of clothes was not so necessary. In any case, we find that, whether the magic rod is used or not, nakedness, and therefore the bath, is a common feature of all the versions. Even when the purpose of the bath is forgotten, it was so distinct a feature that it was preserved for other purposes. In *Equitan*<sup>38</sup> for instance :

§264. Equitan loves the wife of his seneschal, and is loved in return. The wife, in order that her love for Equitan may be unhindered, determines to bring about the death of her husband. She thereupon prepares for him a bath of boiling water which will instantly put him to death. But the seneschal surprises his wife with Equitan, who, in the hope of saving himself from detection, springs into the scalding bath, and meets the fate intended for his seneschal. The guilty wife is drowned by her husband in the same bath.

In *Melion* :

The husband is cajoled by the wife to reveal his secret. He tells her that if he is struck with a magic ring when he is undressed, he must become a wolf.

§265. Another excellent example of the persistence of the bath tradition is afforded by one of the tales in the *Gesta Romanorum*.<sup>39</sup> Here the original purpose of the bath is much concealed :

A certain knight leaves his home for the Holy Land. During his absence his wife summons a necromancer, whom she loves, to live with her. The necromancer fashions an image under the name and in the form of the knight, and fixes it before him on the wall. The knight meets "Wise Master," who takes him to a bath and undresses him. In a mirror the knight sees the magician take a bow and arrow and aim at the effigy. When the arrow quits the string he plunges into the bath, according to Wise Master's orders, and is thus saved. This happens three times and the third time the arrow enters the magician's own body and kills him. The knight goes home and his wife is sentenced to be burnt and her ashes scattered in the air.

<sup>38</sup> *Marie de France*, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Swan's Translations (1905) *Tale cii*, pp. 224 ff.

§266. We see then that the first, and from our present point of view, the most important condition is that Llew should be ready to enter his bath.<sup>40</sup> But a curious complication has arisen in *Math*. Why should the bath be prepared by a river-side? The obvious place, of course, would be the house. Even if conditions (c) and (d) could not be fulfilled in a house, there is no need to place the bath by a river. The explanation seems to be the same as in scores of other cases in the *Mabinogion*, where the original version has been overlaid by a later, and both have been preserved in the final version of the story. For instance, in the mabinogi of *Branwen*, the episode of the Irishmen in the bags was first meant to be an explanation by *bolion*, "bags," of the name *Tal y bolion*, but the significance of this original onomastic tale had been forgotten, and a later onomastic tale was inserted which explains *Tal y bolion* by *ebolion*, "ponies." In *Math* itself we have had an instance in the naming of Llew Llaw Gyffes where the second incident of skill in shooting overlies the original incident of skill in making shoes. Here, also, the same mixture is to be seen. In the original version, Llew bathed in the river. A later, more sophisticated version, influenced perhaps by a multitude of similar tales, added the bath, but kept the more primitive river. Condition (f) then must be regarded as the remains of a primitive version.

§267. Let us now turn to the other conditions. Llew's *dihenydd* was that he must be killed with a spear. We have seen that the spear has crept in from another Balor tale, from the confusion of two accounts relating to the same person, viz.,

- (a) Balor was killed by a magically prepared spear.
- (b) Balor was transformed into an animal by a magic wand.

<sup>40</sup> The word used for "bath" is *enneint*, which in Mod. W. means "ointment." The verb is *enneiniau*, "to bathe or wash," with the middle form *ymenneiniau*, "to bathe one's self"; in Mod. W. "to anoint" and "to anoint one's self." There can be no doubt, however, of the Medieval Welsh meaning, e.g., *enneint dwfyr* in *Meddygon Mydd-veu*, p. 30, which the Editor, Dr. Diverres, translates "un bain d'eau."

As with the bath and river above, we have here again a case of a later version overlying a former, some of the details of the former version being retained. (a) Llew was transfixed with a spear,—that is one version ; (b) Llew was transformed into an eagle,—that is the other. So that out of four details, two have emerged, but the two belong to different versions, thus :

*A version* (1) Llew was struck with a magic wand, and  
(2) transformed into an eagle.

*B version.* (3) Llew was pierced by a magic spear, and  
(4) was killed.

Out of the four details then, No. 2 and 3 emerge in the present form of *Math*. As the actual result of the injury done to the husband was No. 2, we can put back No. 1 as the essential of the primitive form. So far, then, we conclude that :

*The husband<sup>41</sup> was struck with a magic wand by his wife's lover when he was bathing in the river, and transformed into an eagle.*

§268. The remaining conditions will at once be familiar to students of folk-tales, but, first of all, some comment must be made on (k), where Llew puts on his trousers after coming from the bath. There is nothing in I,—that is Llew's own statement of the conditions,—which corresponds at all to this. So that, either (k) is an addition, or one of Llew's own stated conditions must have dropped out. It is easy to see what the lost condition in Llew's statement must have been. They are all concerned with apparently mutually exclusive requirements, and the story shows how those requirements were reconciled, and the conditions fulfilled. For instance, being under a roof

<sup>41</sup> It will obviously be simpler to use the common nouns "husband" and "wife" in our further enquiries, as we have done in the preliminary part, lest the use of *Llew* and *Blodeuwedd* may lead some readers to think that the story was necessarily the story of Llew and Blodeuwedd, and so have an important point prejudged for them.



over the bath was the method of fulfilling the requirement that he should not be in a house and that he should not be outside. The wearing of the trousers then presupposes a condition that he should be neither dressed nor undressed. We can now add that condition to the test, which, we shall presently see, represents a well-authenticated theme of folk-lore. But first, it is now clear that all these conditions (c) to (i) are a separate entity by themselves, superimposed on the primitive theme of the husband being struck and transformed when naked and ready for the bath. In fact, the condition which we have seen to have been omitted from Llew's statement, namely, that he must be neither dressed nor undressed, flatly contradicts this primitive requirement. It will help us to clear the matter up, then, if at this point we anticipate a little, by stating that the conditions and fulfilments (c) to (i) are superimposed on the simpler tale. Those conditions and their fulfilment may now be written in parallel columns :

<i>Condition.</i>	<i>Fulfilment.</i>
(a) Not to be in a house, not to be outside.	To be underneath a thatched roof with no sides.
(b) Not to be on horseback, not to be afoot.	To have one foot on the back of a goat and one on the edge of the bath.
(c) Not to be dressed, not to be undressed.	To undress, and then to put on his trousers.

### *The Dihenydd in Folklore.*

§269. These conditions and their fulfilment can best be understood by giving a few instances from other sources :

#### i. *Diarmaid and Grainne.* A.<sup>42</sup>

Grainne was persuading Diarmaid to go with her. "I will not do that," said Diarmaid. "I am leaving it on thee as a wish ; and as spells that thou go with me." "I will not go with thee : I will not take thee in softness, and I will not take thee in

<sup>42</sup> *TWH*, iii, p. 50.

hardness; I will not take thee without, and I will not take thee within; I will not take thee on horseback, and I will not take thee on foot," said he. . . . One morning Grainne cried to him, "Art thou within, Diarmaid?" . . . She was between the two sides of the door, on a buck goat. "I am not without, I am not within; I am not on foot, and I am not on a horse, and thou must go with me," said she.

#### §270. ii. *Diarmaid and Grainne*. B.<sup>43</sup>

Dermid long continued indifferent to her (Grainne's) allurements, and placed her under spells (*fo gheasaibh*) that she was not to appear before him either by night or day, clothed or unclothed, on foot or on horseback, in company or without company. She however went to a fairy woman (*bean shith*), and got garments made from mountain down (*canach ant sleibh*). She came with this garment on, riding on a he-goat in the dusk of the evening, when it was neither light nor dark, and thus it could not be said that she was clothed or unclothed, on foot or on horseback, in company or without company, and consequently she was deemed free from the spell laid upon her.

#### §271. iii. *The Foundling Prince*.<sup>44</sup>

The Tsar's son was lost for fifteen years. A peasant found a child and claimed that this child was the Tsarevich. In order to test him, the Tsar told the peasant, "Tell your foundling that he is to come to me neither naked nor dressed, nor on foot nor on horseback, neither by day nor by night, neither in the court-yard nor in the street." The foundling solved the riddle and convinced the Tsar that he was indeed his son. He "took and undressed himself from head to foot, put a net on himself, came on a goat, came up to the Tsar at twilight and mounted the goat at the gate, leaving the fore-feet of the goat on the courtyard and the hind-feet in the street."

#### §272. iv. *Frey and Disa*.<sup>45</sup>

Disa questioned one of King Frey's decrees, and he, hearing of this, declared that he would soon put her to her wit's end, and promised to take her to his counsel but on condition that she should come to him not on foot nor on horseback, not driving nor sailing, not clad nor unclad, not in a year nor a month, not by day nor by night, not in the moon's increase nor in the wane. She

<sup>43</sup> *The Fians*, p. 52.

<sup>44</sup> Magnus, *Russian Folk Tales*, p. 42.

<sup>45</sup> Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i, 209.

went to the King thus. She harnessed two young men to a sledge, by the side of which she caused a goat to be led ; she held one leg in the sledge and placed the other on the goat, and was herself clad in a net. Thus she came to the King, neither walking nor riding, nor driving, nor sailing, neither clad nor unclad. She came neither in a current year nor month, but on the third day before Yule . . . which belonged not to any month. She came neither in the increase nor in the wane, but just at the full moon ; neither by day nor by night but in the twilight. He was so pleased with her intelligence that he not only took her to his counsel but made her his queen.

§273. v. *The King and the Beggar Maid*.<sup>46</sup>

The King promises to marry the beggar maid if she will come to him neither driving nor walking nor riding, neither out of the road nor in the road, neither dressed nor naked, bringing a gift and no gift. She comes naked with a fishing net over herself, puts her goat into a rut in the road, and with one foot on the goat's back and the other stepping along the rut. She had put two wasps between two plates, and when she came to the King she lifted one of the plates and the wasps flew away, so that she had brought a gift and no gift.

*A Note on some Misericords.*

§274. Among the misericords found in old churches there are many representing men or women mounted on goats and enveloped in a net, often with one foot on the goat and the other on the ground. At Beverley St. Mary a naked man enveloped in a net bestrides a goat, with a hare under his arm, and one foot touches the ground. On the other side of the carving is the figure of a man throttling a lion, and between them stands a king with a crown and sceptre. At Worcester, a woman in a net rides a goat with one foot on the ground. Her right hand grasps a goat's horn and her left clasps what appears to be a hare. Similar figures are to be found on a corbel of Auxerre Cathedral, and at Stratford-on-Avon, in Norwich Cathedral and in the choir of York Minster.<sup>47</sup> Mr. Bond in dealing with these figures takes the conventional view, fortified by a quotation from Spenser, that the figure of the man on a goat clasping a hare represents lechery, just as other vices

<sup>46</sup> Bond, *Misericords*, p. 184.      <sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, p. 183.

are pictorially so represented, because the goat is generally regarded as the animal symbol of lechery, and he,—without any warrant as far as I know,—regards the hare as similarly a symbol of lechery. Now I think that our researches here will throw light on the significance of the figures, though the matter bears no reference to *Math*. In all the non-Celtic examples of the theme which I have quoted, the puzzle is always set as an intelligence test, and even in the story of *Diarmaid and Grainne*, it is not impossible that it was originally a testing of Grainne's intelligence. It should be noticed that had Diarmaid wished to state an impossibility, he would have said that *he* would go with Grainne neither dressed nor undressed, neither on horseback nor afoot, etc., and then he could naturally have taken care that the conditions should not be fulfilled. Evidently it was not to make their going away together impossible that he gave Grainne the puzzle, but rather to find out whether she had the intelligence necessary to circumvent the conditions. In the *Foundling Prince*, the test is to find out whether the foundling is really a son of the Tsar ; if he can solve the riddle, then he is proved to be the Tsar's son. In *Frey and Disa*, Disa has criticized the king's action, and Frey declares that he will give her a puzzle beyond her wits ; if however she shows intelligence in solving the puzzle, he will follow her counsel. In the *King and the Beggar Maid* the king promises to marry the maid if she has sufficient wit to solve the puzzle. Thus we see that, in every case, this famous riddle was used as a test of intelligence. What of the hare ? The *King and the Beggar Maid* contains the clue to the significance of the hare. In that list of puzzles, there is one that demands that the maid should bring a gift and no gift. She fulfilled that by bringing wasps and then letting them go. In the other lists this condition is not included, but the figure of the hare represents, in the *Misericords*, the missing link ; the hare was such a gift,—when the wise person brought it in his arms to the king or

other person making the demand, after it had been accepted as a gift, he would then open his arms and the hare would escape. Thus, like the wasps, the hare was a gift and no gift. This is confirmed by the use made of the hare in *Jesper who herded the Hares*.<sup>48</sup>

§275. The hare is the symbol of the gift and no gift. The net is of course to fulfil the condition of being dressed and not dressed ; the goat of neither being on horse-back nor afoot. It is to be noted in this connexion that, as in *Math*, the misericords represent one foot as being on the ground. This does not seem necessary in order to fulfil the condition, as being on the goat would in itself be sufficient. One of two explanations are possible ; either we have here a more primitive form underlying a later,—that is, the primitive solution was to be on horseback with one foot on the ground, and a later solution was to come riding on the goat. Either that, or another condition has been omitted from all the versions, namely that the person who was tested should be on the ground and off the ground ; I am inclined towards the former explanation. The Man in the Net in the misericords then is not a symbol of Lechery but a symbol of Wisdom or Cunning, and we can now explain the famous figures at Beverley St. Mary. It will be recalled that the Man in the Net is on the right side and on the left is the figure of a man throttling a lion, namely David or Samson the strong man. In the middle is a king with crown and sceptre. The whole group is either symbolic of the Royal Power being supported on the one hand by Strength and on the other by Cunning, or of a king deciding between Strength and Cunning as to which of them is the more powerful. In any case, the Man in the Net is not Lechery, but Wisdom or Cunning. I have made this long diversion because I thought that the matter was in itself important.

<sup>48</sup> A. Lang, *Violet Fairy Book*, pp. 205 ff. The tale is described as "Scandinavian."

*The Man on the Goat.*

§276. To return to *Math*, we can now state that these puzzles of "with and without" are tests of intelligence and never the conditions for death or transformation, never in other words a man's *dihenydd*. But the death of Balor was, in Irish legend, as we have already seen, such as could only be brought about under certain specified conditions. We have also seen that the killing of Balor by means of a magic spear became the framework for the "killing" or transformation of Llew Llaw Gyffes. These specified conditions for the death of Balor, transferred first to Gronwy Pevr and then to Llew Llaw Gyffes, naturally attracted to themselves the most famous list of specified conditions in legendary tradition, namely the with-and-without conditions of the Man on the Goat. We are now in a position to tabulate the different elements in this portion.

§277. *The Elements in the Slaying-Transformation of Llew.*1. *The Unfaithful Wife.*

- (a) The story of Bláthnat and Cúrói.
- (b) A husband has a secret which concerns his transformation into an animal. The woman learns it with her lover's aid and transforms him, while he is naked in the bath, into an animal, and thereafter into two other animals.

2. *The Death of Balor.*<sup>49</sup>

"I will destroy Erin, and no man can stop me," said Balor; "for no man can kill me but the son of my daughter. She has no son, and if she had itself, he could kill me only with the red spear made by Gaivnin Gow, and it cast into my eye the moment I raise the last shield from it, when I am standing on Muin Duv [Black Back] to burn Erin."

<sup>49</sup> This is quoted verbatim from *B2*,—*HT*, p. 304.

3. *The Man on the Goat.* The folk-tale of the Man or Woman whose intelligence was tested by a series of puzzles, of the "with-and-without" type.
4. *The legend of the Owl Blodeuwedd*, who had been transformed from a woman for her sins.

§278. Lugh's slaying of his grandfather was the crowning achievement of his life, and it is unlikely that in any version of his life history, however corrupt and debased, this feat would be forgotten. It so happens, however, that the grandfather, Balor, has been completely lost from the Mabinogi of *Math*, though nearly all the incidents connected with him have been retained. The preliminary portions have, as we have seen, been mostly fathered on the person who was in the original tale the Helping Druid, and who now becomes the King, like Balor himself. The slaying incident has been transferred to Gronwy Bevr who comes into the story from the Bláthnat-Werewolf complex. It is possible that the name Gronwy Pevr comes into the story from a local tradition that the lord of Penllyn was killed by the river Cynfael, and that a stone near the spot was named Llech Ronwy in commemoration of his slaying. The triad, referred to in the text,<sup>50</sup> which contains an incident,<sup>51</sup> somewhat factitiously introduced into *Math*, seems to prove that there existed an independent legend, or at least an *Aided*, of Gronwy Pevr. That story would describe his death at the hands of Llew who had slain him with his famous spear. It is even possible that the original and forgotten saga described Llew as slaying him and stealing his wife, just as Cúchulain slew Cúrói and as Llew himself, in Irish tradition, slew Cearmat Mirbel :

<sup>50</sup> It is found in the Red Book Triads, *RB*, I, p. 305.

<sup>51</sup> The refusal of Gronwy's household to take a blow instead of their lord.

*Do cher Cearmat Mirbel mas  
la Lugh mac nEthnenn n-amhnas ;  
ag éd moa mnaoi, mór an modh,  
dia ros brécc an draoi dhósomh.*<sup>52</sup>

*Fell stately Cearmat Mirbel  
by Lugh, son of Ethniu the savage ;  
in jealousy of his wife, great the manner,  
after the druid wiled her to him (?).*

We are certainly here concerned with the story of a person slain by Llew, which is independent of the original form of the Mabinogi. If Gronwy Pevr was the person slain by Llew, and especially if he were slain in a wife-lifting incident, it was natural that this should be regarded as the punishment of the man who in the Blodeuwedd-Bláthnat portion had stolen Llew's wife. Once this became established in one of the versions as the punishment for a crime, the crime itself was thereby defined as slaying with a spear. That is why we have the extraordinary mixture of a person being transformed into an animal by being pierced with a spear ; the punishment has reacted upon the crime. So also the ancient tradition of Wales asserted that Blodeuwedd was a woman turned into an owl for her misdeeds. The wife's punishment is according to tradition, but it has reacted upon the crime. If she was turned into a bird for an offence against her husband, then (it was argued) that offence was to turn the husband into a bird. Whence we get the further complication of the husband being turned into an eagle by being pierced with a spear.

§279. Now the crime and punishment of Gronwy and Blodeuwedd were completely accounted for. But there still remained the Balor story which demanded that, since the crime

<sup>52</sup> *Leabhar Gabhála*, I, p. 182. I have taken the editor's translation of the fourth line which I do not understand.



of wife and lover against the husband was their transformation of him into three animals in succession, they should be punished by being transformed into the same animals and having offspring while in animal form. We have seen how, by a series of admixtures, the crime and punishment of Gronwy and Blodeuwedd became fixed. How then to preserve, in the complex of *Math*, the other transformation story, that of turning Blodeuwedd's husband into a bird? It was done in two ways: Llew instead of being killed by the spear is transformed, not into three animals, but into an eagle. The other punishment was taken *in toto* and transferred to the two men who plotted the rape, though their crime had borne no relation whatsoever to the punishment. That, in brief, seems to be the method, if method it may be called, by which the story was "unified." The sequence of the changes in the story is of course a matter of conjecture.

#### *Gilvaethwy's Place in the Story.*

§280. In Part I, we saw that Gilvaethwy's position in the story is puzzling. First of all, he rapes Goewin, whom the King wished to preserve as a maiden in order that she should have no son. When a son is born (though the mother's name is by this time Arianrhod) there is no reference whatsoever to Gilvaethwy as the father. The only part which he plays in the subsequent happenings is that of Gwydion's partner in punishment; Gwydion is assumed to be the father of Llew, and the story proceeds on that assumption. Now we have seen that the punishment of Gwydion and Gilvaethwy was originally the punishment of the Unfaithful Wife and her lover, and that this has been transferred to the man who committed the rape on Goewin and his brother, thereby losing all meaning. The ancient verse embedded in the mabinogi names the three animal-born children as sons of Gilvaethwy and no mention is made of Gwydion, though he was incomparably more

important in Welsh tradition. It is Gilvaethwy also who is seized first, and transformed into a female animal. Now, the verse is obviously more ancient than the present version of *Math*, since it is quoted as independently known at the time the present version or some previous version was composed. Thus arises an important question,—was the verse in existence *before* the punishment was transferred from the Unfaithful Wife and her lover to the raper of Goewin, or was it composed *after* that transference had taken place? In other words, is the Gilvaethwy of the verse the lover of the Unfaithful Wife or the raper of Goewin?

*The Gilvaethwy Enwir Verse.*

§281. Now the *englyn* belongs to the class which is represented by those *englynion* which are entitled *Enweu meibon llywarch hen*,<sup>53</sup> “the names of the sons of Llywarch Hen,” though there seems to be nothing in the text to justify the title. They consist of a series of verses some of which end, like the verse in *Math*, with three names, and one, which is quoted below, containing as it does the name of three sons of Llywarch Hen, probably gave the whole series its misleading title. Like many other sets of *englynion* written in series in the ancient manuscripts, they seem to be a collection of disjointed verses, each verse referring to different persons or circumstances; as for instance the well-known *Englynion y Beddeu*, “the Englynion of the Graves.” The particular *englyn* mentioning the sons of Llywarch Hen is as follows:

*Tri meib llywarch. tri aghimen.      kad*  
*Tri cheimad awlawen.*  
*Llew. ac araw. ac vrien.*

<sup>53</sup> BBC, p. 107. FAB, ii, pp. 61–62.

“The three sons of Llywarch, three disturbers  
of battle,  
Three grim warriors,  
Lleu and Arav and Urien.”

Compare with this the verse in *Math*, and the identity of form will be apparent :

“The three sons of Gilvaethwy the wicked,  
Three trusty wolf-men,  
Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, long Hychtwn.”

It is difficult to decide the age of the so-called “Llywarch Hen” englynion, but since the publication of Sir John Morris-Jones’s *Taliesin*, the tendency is to discount the theories of Rhys and others who thought that the ancient Welsh poetry was not much older than the manuscripts in which it is found.<sup>54</sup>

*Original Rôles of Gilvaethwy and Goewin.*

§282. We cannot, for lack of further proof, assert that the englyn in *Math* is older than the period in which the punishment of Gilvaethwy was transferred from the wife and lover to the raper of the King’s foot-holder. If, however, the englyn is older than the transference, a most important fact emerges, namely that *Gilvaethwy was the name of one of the persons in the story of the Unfaithful Wife*. The probability seems to me to be that the englyn is older than the transference, and I have here assumed it to be so, because otherwise Gwydion would be named as the other parent of the animal offspring. If we make that assumption, the solution of the difficulty

<sup>54</sup> See Professor Ivor Williams’s reconstruction of *Arthur ac Eliwlad*, (*BBCS*, II, pp. 269 ff.) which had always been regarded as belonging to about the 16th century. He places it as early as the 11th or possibly earlier. See particularly his remarks on p. 272.

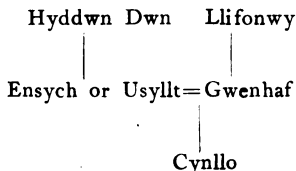
which we have already met, is easy,—there has been a transference of Gilvaethwy's name as well as of the punishment. A further question arises here,—what of Goewin? It will be remembered that when Math returns and finds that Goewin had been raped, he makes her his wife. This action, as it stands, is inexplicable, but if we assume that tradition had it that *Goewin was the wife of the King* of whom it was said that his grandson would slay him, and also that the King had an unfaithful wife who turned him into animals, then it was natural that the *cyvarwydd* should, according to his wont, seek to preserve the traditional correctness of his narrative by making the King take Goewin to wife. An objector to the very mixed complex of Math might say to the *cyvarwydd*—“But the wife of the king was Goewin;” he thus provides the answer to that criticism. To complete the case then, and to explain the extraordinary duplication of Goewin and Arianrhod, we take Goewin in the original version to be the name of the wife who, with the aid of Gilvaethwy her lover, transformed her husband into a succession of animals. The matter will be clearer if we put it in the form of summaries. We have seen that *Math* is a complex of two stories about Balor. These original stories may now be written thus :

- A. Balor (Beli) has a daughter Arianrhod whom, for good reasons, he wishes to keep a virgin. Gwydion has access to her and begets Llew.
- B. Balor has a wife Goewin who, with the aid of her lover Gilvaethwy, transforms him into three animals in succession. Balor punishes Gilvaethwy and Goewin by changing them into the same three animals. They have offspring in their animal form, known as the sons of Gilvaethwy,—Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, and Hychtwn.

The Three Sons of Gilvaethwy.

§283. The three sons<sup>55</sup> of Gilvaethwy, born as animals from human parents in animal form, and afterwards transformed into human shape, have analogies, as we have seen, in other lands. In other instances, however, these human animals remain in their animal forms, and become famous in legend as the best animals of their particular species. Thus we have the hound Gwinaloc, the boar Tortain, and the horse Loriagor. I know of no story in which these human animals are transformed into human shape, and it seems likely that in the one form of the story, if not in the original, they remained as animals. Attempts have been made to explain the names, but none of them seem entirely satisfactory. The first elements in the three names explain themselves, being respectively *Blaid*, "wolf," *Hydd*, "stag," and *Hwch*, "swine."<sup>56</sup> The second element is *dwn*, and it is with this word that we are mostly concerned. In the Irish Lecan Glossary, *donn* is given with the meaning "pregnant." It has been suggested by Professor Lloyd-Jones<sup>57</sup> that *dwn*, (i.e. *dwnn*) is the equivalent of this word. This, however, can hardly be if the meaning is "pregnant," but it is quite likely that "pregnant" here is a mere guess at the meaning of the word in some Irish context similar to that of *dwn* in *Bleiddwn*. We may agree then to equate *dwn* with Irish *donn*, but we must seek some other

<sup>55</sup> The family of Hyddwn Dwn is given in Peniarth MS. 16, (*British Saints*, . . . p. 263) as follows:



<sup>56</sup> *Bleiddwn*, *Hyddwn* are for *Bleidd-ddwn*, *Hydd-ddwn*. For examples of similar forms see Morris-Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, §111, ii (2).

<sup>57</sup> *BBCS*, I, p. 4.

explanation of the meaning. In O'Davoren's Glossary<sup>58</sup> *donn* is explained as "noble, or a judge, or a king," and *duinn* "noble," an adjective used as a noun, is quoted. Caesar<sup>59</sup> has the Gaulish proper name *Donnotaurus*, a latinisation of a Gaulish *Donnotarvos*. It is clear that this corresponds exactly to *Bleiddwn*, only that the elements have been reversed; that is to say, *Tarvodonnos* would correspond in form to *Bleiddwn*. If O'Davoren's *donn* is the same as the Welsh *-dwinn* and the Gaulish *donno*,—it seems likely that it means "of race," "of blood," and so "noble," representing the same idiomatic idea as the English *gentle*. We should then treat *-dwinn* and *donno* as equivalent in meaning to the Greek *-γενής*, and translate *Donnotarvos* as "of the race of the bull," "bull-born," *Bleiddwn* as "wolf-born," *Hyddwn* as "stag-born," and *Hychtwyn* as "swine-born."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *ACL*, ii, 310, 311.

<sup>59</sup> *BG*, VII, 65. See de Jubainville, *Les druides*, p. 154.

<sup>60</sup> The sons of Gilvaethwy are called *cenryssedat*. M. Loth translates "guerriers éminents," and the word is generally taken in that sense. I have translated it "wolf-men" on the supposition that the first element *cyn*—is from *cŵn*, the oblique form of *ci*, "hound," comparing it with the Irish *conricht*, "were-wolf," (*Contributions*, *sub. voc.*) *Richt* is cognate with the W. *rhith*, "form, guise." A curious example of *conres* is found in O'Davoren's Glossary, (*ACL*, II, 275) in a passage which is unintelligible to me (and to the editor too, I suspect); *conres* is there given as a form of *conriug*.

PART VII.  
THE PRYDERI SAGA

*Peculiarity of the Pryderi Episode.*

§284. There now remains out of the whole complex of *Math* only one section ; the story of Gwydion and the Swine, leading to the death of Pryderi. Nothing corresponding to this episode is found in any of the parallel versions of Balor and his Grandson : in that respect it is similar to the section which relates the treachery of Blodeuwedd and Gronwy Pevr ; in another respect it differs radically. The intrusion of the *Unfaithful Wife* has, as we have seen, affected the whole mass ; events and personalities have been altered out of recognition in order that the original story might accommodate the addition. In other words, the *Unfaithful Wife* cannot be lifted out of *Math* without affecting the coherence which was secured by the modification of earlier versions. *Gwydion and the Swine* and the *Death of Pryderi*, on the other hand, can be lifted bodily out of *Math*, without affecting any of the surrounding details, with one exception presently to be discussed.

§285. This matter can be easily demonstrated by means of a summary to show the structure of the mabinogi. Thus :

Math can only live with his feet in a virgin's lap, except when he is at war. Gilvaethwy has designs on the virgin foot-holder, and, in order that he may get at her, his brother Gwydion brings about a war. *He brings about a war by deceiving Pryderi, who in consequence follows Gwydion into Gwynedd with an army. Pryderi is killed on that expedition.* While Math is away from the court making war, Gilvaethwy rapes his foot-holder, and thereafter the mabinogi proceeds with no further reference to Pryderi and the war with Dyved.



Now, if we take out that section of the above summary which is printed in italics, the only effect it has is that of shortening the narrative. No other detail need be altered, and the coherence of the mabinogi would neither lose nor gain by the exclusion of the Pryderi episode. Which is to say that the whole of that episode was bodily inserted into the mabinogi from an independent saga. What that saga was we shall presently see.

§286. Even if we take out the whole Pryderi episode, there still remains one feature which is not found in the other versions, namely that the only time when Math could live without having his feet on a virgin's lap was *when he was at war*. The author is clearly under the impression that this custom depended on Math's own nature and not on an outside destiny ; indeed he states plainly that it was a *cynneddf*,—an inherent peculiarity. In other words, since the slaying of the King by his grandson had been lost from the story, and since the name of the Helping Druid had been transferred to the King in a previous stage of the story's development, the author who introduced the Pryderi episode did not know why the King's life depended on his foot-holder's virginity. But as he thought that the King's death would presumably follow any departure from the custom, he was faced with this difficulty,—the foot-holder's lover must have some opportunity of getting at her, but that was impossible if the King must be always with his feet in her lap. So he took the original nucleus of a true mabinogi which had been the basis of the older Fourth Branch—the Death of Pryderi and Gwydion's part in it,—made this the cause of Math's absence, and then for the sake of consistency put in the saving clause, "except when the tumult of war hindered him."

*The Mabinogi of Pryderi.*

§287. I have described the Pryderi episode as a part of a true mabinogi, and now that description must be justified, and this involves the examination of the term *mabinogi*. It must occur to the most casual reader that this portion of *Math* is a complete tale by itself, and, as we have already pointed out, depends on no single fact or episode in the rest of the mabinogi for its completeness. If taken out of *Math*, not only would *Math* itself be uninjured, but the episode could stand alone without introduction or conclusion or any addition whatsoever as an artistically complete and indivisible whole. It is, in fact, a real "branch" of a Mabinogi of Pryderi.

§288. Irish heroic tales, of which a large number has been preserved, are divided into different categories according to their subject, or according to what incident in the hero's life they deal with. In time, these types of stories became standardised, and acquired names of their own. The *Compert* related the circumstances in the lives of his parents which led to his birth; the *Macgnimarta* dealt with his youthful exploits, the *Aided* with his death. If he had been expelled or imprisoned his story was an *Indarba*; if he went on a voyage, it was an *Imráim*, and so on. In studying the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, I have gradually come to the conclusion that Pryderi's life was, according to the Irish pattern, divided somewhat on those principles.

*The Meaning of Cainc.*

§289. *Math* is called the fourth *cainc* (branch) of the Mabinogi. The term *mabinogi* means a tale of a hero's youth,<sup>61</sup> and the term *cainc* supposes that the mabinogi is one whole, dealing with the life of one hero, but divided into different episodes called "branches," which are in themselves complete.

<sup>61</sup> I have discussed this matter in the article in *THSC*, 1912-3, pp. 39-40.

This traditional use of the term is found in French Arthurian romance also, and M. Ferdinand Lot's<sup>62</sup> words on the subject deserve quotation :

Le terme 'branche' n'a pas le sens que lui donne P. Paris. Son extension est beaucoup plus large : il s'entend d'un *conte* tout entier, consacré à un seul héros, conte rentrant, à son tour, dans un ensemble plus vaste. Ainsi, dans le long épisode de la quête du chevalier aux armes vermeilles par Gauvain et vingt autres compagnons de la Table ronde, le roman ne s'astreint à raconter que les aventures du premier, parce que : 'chascuns de ces xx. chevaliers a son conte tout entier, qui sont *branques* de monseignor Gaivain, car chou est li chiés, et a chestui les covient en la fin tous ahurer (*sic*) por che que il issent tuit de cestui.' Et si les 'contes' particuliers de ces vingt chevaliers forment autant de branches dépendant du 'conte' de Gauvain, le 'conte' de celui-ci, à son tour, se rattache au 'conte de Lancelot,' et 'li contes Lancelot meïsmes fu branche del grant Conte del Graal.' Le tronc c'est le conte du Graal, auquel se rattache le *Lancelot* qui donne naissance à une végétation secondaire. Le terme *branche* convient à merveille à ce système. Seulement, on le voit, la *branche* est un arbre généalogique de romans réels ou fictifs ; ce n'est pas une subdivision de chacun d'eux.

§290. But what is the essential unity among the Four Branches of the Mabinogi? And further, if, as we have asserted, "mabinogi" means the tale of a hero's youth, how is the term applicable to all the four branches? To take the second question first, it must be assumed that *mabinogi* which first denoted "*enfances*" had lost its stricter sense and had been extended from the history of a hero's youth to that of

<sup>62</sup> *Étude sur le Lancelot*, p. 13.

his whole life. Indeed, the meaning of *maminogi* and *mabinogi* in the early poets seems to be "heroic prowess," a meaning inevitably suggested by the nature of the tales which were so denoted. The Four Branches would then contain four episodes in the heroic history of one person. Is such a person found in the Four Branches?

§291. The answer to that question will be clear after an examination of the contents of the Four Branches. They may, for our purpose, be tabulated as follows :

1st Branch, *Pwyll*.

Pwyll's descent to Annwvn.  
The meeting of Pryderi's  
parents.  
Pryderi's birth.  
Pryderi's disappearance.  
His mother's penance (*Calumni-  
ated Wife* theme).  
Pryderi's restoration.

2nd Branch, *Branwen*.

Events leading up to Branwen's  
marriage with Matholwch.  
Branwen's penance (*Calumni-  
ated Wife* theme).  
Branwen's vindication.  
Brân's prowess in Ireland.  
Death of Brân.  
Death of Branwen.  
The episode of the Head (*Other-  
World* theme).

3rd Branch, *Manawydan*.

Marriage of Manawydan and  
Rhiannon.  
The spell under which Pryderi  
and Rhiannon disappear.

Restoration of Pryderi and  
Rhiannon.

4th Branch, *Math vab  
Mathonwy.*

The Story of the *King and his  
Prophesied Death*, (as de-  
tailed in this study).

The Story of the *Unfaithful  
Wife*, (as detailed in this  
study).

The stealing of the swine from  
Dyved.

The Death of Pryderi.

§292. It will now be seen that of the four Branches, three contain different episodes in the life of Pryderi, and that those episodes are consecutive in his life. To use the Irish terms explained in §288, the first Branch contains the *Compert* of Pryderi, the third his *Indarba*, and the fourth his *Aided*. As to the second Branch, *Branwen*, the author was quite aware that in its present form it stood outside the scheme of the mabinogi, and he therefore rather laboriously in the third Branch, *Manawydan*, introduced a connexion by the words with which he begins his narrative: "After the seven men of whom we spoke above [i.e., in the preceding Branch, *Branwen*,] had buried the head of Bendigeidfran in the White Hill in London. . . ." Further, as I have attempted to show elsewhere,<sup>63</sup> the original on which *Manawydan* was built was expressly named the *Mabinogi of Modron and Gweir*, that is, of Rhiannon and Pryderi. It is possible that the original second Branch was something very different from *Branwen*, and that *Branwen* ousted it from the scheme, as they could not both be kept, the number of the Branches being traditionally four.

<sup>63</sup> *RC*, xxxiii, pp. 452 ff.

*Growth of the Mabinogion.*

§293. I shall here briefly outline the conclusions which I have formed as to the growth of the Mabinogion as a whole, in anticipation of a full treatment in the future, when the three other branches shall have been examined. The basis of the whole four was the *Life of Pryderi* in four branches, namely :

- (1) *Compert*. The Conception and Birth of Pryderi.
- (2) *Macgnimarta*. The Youthful Exploits of Pryderi.
- (3) *Indarba*. The Imprisonment of Pryderi.
- (4) *Aided*. The Death of Pryderi.

To these were added two other main bodies of tradition :

- (5) The Exploits of the Children of Llyr.
- (6) The Exploits of the Children of Dôn.

Next came additions to (5) and (6) :

- (7) The numerous stories in *Branwen* (e.g. *The Iron House*) as an addition to (5).
- (8) The stories of *The King and his Prophesied Death*, and the *Unfaithful Wife*, and possibly other incidents as an addition to (6).

Lastly came important contaminations from English or, less probably, French sources :

- (9) The story of the *Calumniated Wife*.
- (10) A story of *Eustace Legend* type.

(9) was added to the first Branch as the Calumny against Rhiannon, her Penance, and her Vindication, and in duplicate to the second Branch as the Calumny against Branwen, her

Penance and her Vindication. (10) became the mould into which the history of Manawydan during Rhiannon and Pryderi's imprisonment was cast. So that finally we get this composite result :

1st Branch, *Pwyll*.

*The Conception and Birth of Pryderi. The Calumniated Wife.*

2nd Branch, *Branwen*.

The original second Branch is ousted altogether and instead we have the *Exploits of the Children of Llyr* with later additions such as the *Iron House*, and possibly the *Otherworld* description. The *Calumniated Wife*.

3rd Branch, *Manawydan*.

*The Imprisonment of Pryderi.* The exploits of the Children of Llyr cast into the mould of the *Eustace Legend*.

4th Branch, *Math*.

*The Death of Pryderi*, which is utilised as an incident in the *Compert* of Lleu, one of the Family of Dôn, who is the hero of a *King and his Prophesied Death* story. The *Unfaithful Wife*.

*The Aided of Pryderi.*

§294. The section which contains the *Death of Pryderi* and the events leading up to it is a plain straightforward narrative presenting no special difficulty. But even in this comparatively unmixed account, we can discern various layers of tradition.

It is more than probable that whatever local colour of Dyved was found in the original *Death of Pryderi* had been almost altogether lost when that story was incorporated in *Math*. The rest of *Math* is particularly rich in local allusions, but this episode was probably re-written by an author who knew next to nothing about Wales outside the two districts where the two parts of *Math* are staged, Arvon and Ardudwy. The only name in Dyved which is mentioned is Rhuddlan Teivi.

### *The Stealing of the Swine.*

§295. Gwydion informs Math that he has heard that there have come to Dyved some small animals called *hobeu*, "swine," which were sent to Pryderi from Annwvn, the Otherworld; their flesh was better than beef.<sup>64</sup> This is of course in strict accordance with the traditions concerning the birth of Pryderi, who was the son of the queen of Dyved and Pwyll the Prince of Annwvn.<sup>65</sup> Domestic animals in general were believed to come from the Otherworld,<sup>66</sup> and the pig in particular. "In Italy, according to Mr. Ward Fowler, the pig was an appropriate offering to the deities of the earth, so that in the wide-spread use of the pig as a symbol in the Celtic world, X there may be some ancient echo of the connection between it

<sup>64</sup> The Irish liking for swineflesh was notorious. Douglas Hyde (*Literary History*, p. 104) quotes a story of Stanihurst to illustrate the point. "One of John O'Neil's [Shane O'Neill's] household demanded of his fellow whether beefe were better than porke. 'That,' quoth the other, 'is as intricate a question as to ask whether thou are better than O'Neil.'"

<sup>65</sup> This anticipates the conclusion which will be justified in a future volume that Pwyll was not the King of Dyfed but the Prince of Annwvn. The introductory episode in *Pwyll* is to explain why Pryderi was both the son of the Prince of Annwvn and of the King of Dyved, exactly as in the story told of the Irish Mongan.

<sup>66</sup> *Voyage of Bran*, p. 213.



and the earth-spirit.”<sup>67</sup> Just as the flight of bees suggested their origin from heaven,<sup>68</sup> so did the habits of the swine suggest their origin from the Otherworld.

§296. But how did the swine come from Annwvn? Here we are told that they were sent as a present from Annwvn, but there are echoes in Welsh literature of a tradition that Gwydion actually stole the swine, not from the son of the Prince of Annwvn, as in *Math*, but from the Prince of Annwvn himself. According to a note to some englynion, the Battle of Goddau was fought between the King of Annwvn and Amaethon, who was helped by his brother Gwydion, because Amaethon had stolen a white roe and a whelp from Annwvn.<sup>69</sup> According to a Triad<sup>70</sup> of the Three Vain Battles, a plover, a bitch and a roe were stolen. Whether this history of the mysterious *Cad Goddeu* correctly represents the tradition in every detail or not, we shall be justified in regarding Gwydion as concerned in an animal-lifting raid upon Annwvn. It may be supposed therefore that older tradition described Gwydion himself as the stealer of the swine, not from Dyved, but from Annwvn. If that is so, then the choice of this particular method of causing war between Pryderi and the family of Dôn was obvious; it was already supplied by independent tradition.

<sup>67</sup> *Celtic Religion*, p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Davydd ap Gwilym, in his *Cywydd i'r Eira*, says of the snow-flakes:

*Trwy Wynedd y trywenynt,  
Gwenyn o nef gwynion ynt.*

“Through Gwynedd did they penetrate; white bees from heaven they are.”

<sup>69</sup> *MA*, p. 127b.

<sup>70</sup> *MA*, p. 291b = *MA*, p. 405b. These triads are justly suspect, but they contain genuine tradition. This particular triad is confirmed by references in the works of the poets, e.g., Tudur Aled's *Cywydd Heddwch*.

§297. There are indications in our text that the deceit practised by Gwydion upon Pryderi, as described in *Math*, was not the original method of obtaining the swine. A curious inconsistency between what Pryderi said and Gwydion's answer shows that the form of the original discussion between them has been lost. When Gwydion made a request for the swine, Pryderi answered that, willing as he was to accede to it, he had made a covenant with his country *not to give any of them away until they had bred twice their number*. Whereupon Gwydion declares that he can release him from his covenant by *providing an exchange for them*. He makes horses and hounds with trappings and collars, and Pryderi accepts these in exchange without demur, as being a satisfactory and honourable method of releasing him from his bond. Now, the exchange for the swine of other animals did not release him, as his covenant was not to give them away until they had bred twice their number. We have therefore to argue back from Gwydion's exchange, and seek to find out what conditions in the original covenant such an exchange would satisfy.

§298. We see that some alteration in the story has certainly taken place. That alteration may be (*a*) in the covenant between Pryderi and his people, or (*b*) in the exchange provided by Gwydion, or (*c*) in both. Taking these three in order, we can say that the original consistency can be maintained, (1) by supposing that Pryderi's covenant was *neither to sell the swine nor give them as a gift*. Gwydion's exchange would then satisfy the conditions, as the swine were not sold or given, but exchanged, and Gwydion's words acquire a new significance : "Here is a release for thee in the matter of the word that thou spakest last night concerning the swine that *thou wouldst not give them and that thou wouldst not sell them ; thou mayest exchange for what is better ;*" (2) by supposing that Gwydion's exchange was not horses and hounds, but swine ; that Gwydion,

when he heard that Pryderi was bound not to give him the swine until they had bred twice their number, exercised his magic and made out of toadstool and other fungi swine up to twice the number of Pryderi's; (3) by supposing both (1) and (2), that is, that the original covenant was not to give the swine as a gift, not to sell them for money, and not to part with them at all until they had bred twice their number. Thereupon Gwydion as in (2) created swine up to twice the number of Pryderi's and then *exchanged* them for the original swine.

§299. Which of these three explanations is the correct one, it is hard to decide, but it is obvious that one of them must be right. Against (2) and (3) it might be urged that the great detail in which the story of the magic creation of horses, hounds, and trappings is given, shows that it is an important part of the episode, and that therefore the horses, hounds, and trappings must belong to the original version. On the other hand, stories of magic creations were common in Welsh and Irish, and we have already seen<sup>71</sup> that Gwydion was famous in Welsh tradition as the creator of horses from magic, and it would be natural for one of the series of "authors" to substitute horses and hounds for the original swine. It is evident that two conditions must be satisfied, (1) that there must be no giving or selling; (2) that the swine must breed twice their number before they can be given away.

§300. I am inclined therefore to the third of the reconstructions. The original account would then read somewhat as follows :

"*Ie,*" *heb ynteu,* "*hawssaf yn y byt oed hynny by ny bei amot y rof am gwlat am danunt, sef yw hynny, [nas rodwyf ac nas gwerthwyf, ac] nat elhont y gennyf yny hilyont eu deu kymeint yn y wlat*" . . . *Ac yna yd aeth ef yn y*

<sup>71</sup> §136.

gelwydodeu ac y decheuawd dangos y hut, ac yd hudwys [y deu kymeint o voch ac a oed gan Pryderi]. . . "Arglwyd," heb ef, "llyma rydit ytti am y geir a dywedeist neithwyr am y moch nas rodut ac nas gwerthut [ac nat elhynt y gennyt yny hilyont eu deu kymeint yn y wlat]; titheu a elly gyfnewit yr y vo gwell, [sef yw hynny eu deu kymeint.] Minneu a rodaf [ytti y gynniver voch hynn] a wely di racko."

"Yes," said he, "that would be easiest in the world, were there not a covenant between me and my country concerning them, and that is [that I give them not and that I sell them not and] that they go not from me until they have bred twice their number in the country" . . . And then he went to his magic arts and began to exercise his enchantment, and he made by magic [twice the number of swine that Pryderi had] . . . "Lord," said he, "here is a release for thee in the matter of the word that thou spakest last night concerning the swine that thou wouldst not give them and that thou wouldst not sell them, [and that they should not go from thee until they had bred twice their number in the country]; thou mayest exchange for what is better, [that is, twice their number]. And I will give [thee all those pigs] that thou seest there."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Making animals by enchantment is common in Celtic tales. King Diarmuid, according to the *Annals of Clonmacnois*, consented to give up Aedh Guare for fifty horses with golden bridles. Brendan summoned fifty seals and made them look like horses, guaranteeing them for a year and a quarter. They lasted that time, and at the end they became seals again. So also in *Aidead Muirchertaig maic Erca* (RC, xxiii, 410) "of the fern she [Sin] made fictitious swine of enchantment." She also made a host of combatants out of stones and sods and puff-balls (*Ibid*, p. 413. See also author's note on *Madalch. Beirniad*, v, p. 62). Horses were often made by enchantment (*Voyage of Bran*, I, p. 84). St. Patrick, according to the *Lives*, made milk and butter out of snow in order to pay the king's taxes. As soon as the King received them, they turned back to snow. See also *Fairy-Faith*, p. 156; *CF*, p. 82.

*The Journey of the Swine.*

§301. The account in *Math* of the journey of the swine seems to be part of a primitive epic comparable to the epics of animal-lifting in Ireland. Places in Wales the names of which suggest connexion with swine are made into a list of the places through which Gwydion passed on the journey from Dyved to Gwynedd. Such namings are a particular feature of Celtic stories. "Every place in Ireland, says the Saga [*Tain Bo*] that is called Cluain-na-dtarbh, Magh-na-dtarbh, Bearna-na-dtarbh, Druim-na-dtarbh, Loch-na-dtarbh, etc., has its names from them [the Dun Bull and the White-Horned Bull]."<sup>73</sup> So in *BI*, when Maol and Mullag stole the cow Glas Gavlen, they stopped at *Inis Bofin*, (Island of the White Cow); she drank at a well there called henceforth *Tobar na Glaise* (Glas's Well). They landed at *Port na Glaise* (Glas's Harbour) on Tory. Examples might be indefinitely multiplied, but what has been given is sufficient to show that Celtic epics of animal-lifting had a rich store of onomastic episodes, illustrating the course taken by the stolen animals. The tendency among scholars is to regard the explanations of the name as being *post hoc*, but there is reason to suppose that in some instances, at least, the places were actually named from the legend itself. Mochtrev and Mochnant in *Math* were probably named quite independently of the epic of the *Stealing of the Swine*, but the name *Creuwyrion* may very well be for *Creu Wydion*,<sup>74</sup> and so, like *Dinlleu*, be actually a relic of the epic itself; this may also be true of the two places named *Creuddyn* presently to be discussed.

§302. There is no doubt however that in some respects, the story has been twisted to suit the names. The natural route between Dyved and Gwynedd is that indicated in the

<sup>73</sup> *Literary History*, p. 340.

<sup>74</sup> This suggestion comes from Prof. Ifor Williams.

account of Pryderi's march. When the men of Dyved retired homewards they took the route from the vicinity of the modern Caernarvon along the road still in use through Dolbenmaen, thence to Llanvrothen and Traeth Mawr crossing the river Dwyryd at Y Velenrhyd below Maentwrog, and thence along the coast by the quickest and easiest route to Dyved. Now Gwydion, as he himself states, was in a great hurry to reach Arvon and Caer Dathal before the men of Dyved should overtake him, and his obvious course was the one which Pryderi took and which is described above. Instead of that he started away from the coast, went to the uplands of Ceredigion, and went further out of his way through Elenydd<sup>75</sup> in the Pumlumon district, and to the district between Keri and Arwystli, almost on the march of England. He then turned northwards, and came to Rhos, the district around the modern Colwyn Bay. He was now far to the eastward of his destination, and so he had to come west towards Caer Dathal, passing through Arllechwedd.

§303. At first sight one would judge that the numerous Mochtrev's which are here recorded as being named after Gwydion's swine were in themselves sufficient to account for his meanderings, and to some extent this is undoubtedly true. On the other hand, there was no dearth of Mochtrev's in Wales; every manor had one, and many of them had probably become the common names of the localities in which they stood. So we cannot suppose that Gwydion is made to take this devious road in order to pass through Mochtrev and Mochnant. It is more than probable that we have here relics of a lost onomastic reference, of which we have at least two other instances in *Math*.<sup>76</sup> By a lost onomastic reference,

<sup>75</sup> See Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 513 n. The scribe who copied from an older manuscript where *dd* was represented by *t* did not know this name and failed to change the *t* of his original to the *d* of his orthography

<sup>76</sup> See §305-6.

I mean that a certain place or person was in older versions signalised as being named after the event, and that in later versions, though the incident which caused the name is preserved, the name itself has dropped out of the narrative. On Gwydion's route were two places named *Creuddyn*, bearing on their face the meaning of the "Stronghold of the Sty." The first is the district between the rivers Rheidol and Ystwyth, through which he would pass on his way north and east, and the second is the peninsula of *Creuddyn* on which *Llandudno* stands, and on the edge of which, if not actually in it, stands *Mochtrev* in *Rhos*. The three points, then, in Gwydion's original itinerary would be *Creuddyn* in *Ceredigion*, *Creuddyn* in *Gwynedd*, and *Creuwyrion* in *Gwynedd*. There were probably many other such points in between these three in older versions of the story.<sup>77</sup>

*The Onomastic Story.*<sup>78</sup>

§304. On the importance of this type of story in the whole complex of the *Mabinogion* there is no need to dwell.

The common point of view from which our ancestors liked to look at the scenery around them is well illustrated by the fondness of the *Goidel*, in *Wales* and *Ireland* alike, for incidents to explain his place-names. He required the topography—indeed he requires it still, and hence the

<sup>77</sup> That a frankly onomastic tale may be based on an old mythology is shown by the legend of *Aelhaearn*, (=Iron Brow). *St. Beuno* prayed that wild beasts should tear a certain man to pieces. His prayer was granted, but he found that the man was his own servant, and so he set him all up again. But his eyebrow was missing, so it was supplied from the iron of the saint's pikestaff. The story is certainly onomastic as it is related to explain the name of an actual *Aelhaearn* to whom the church of *Llanaelhaearn* in *Caernarvonshire* is dedicated, but the legend is a repetition of a well-known story in the *Eddas*. (See *British Saints*, i, p. 111.)

<sup>78</sup> For a valuable contribution to the study of the onomastic story, see *Rhŷs*, *CF*, pp. 498-555.

activity of the local etymologist—to connote story or history : he must have something that will impart to the cold light of physical nature, river and lake, moor and mountain, a warmer tint, a dash of the pathetic element, a touch of the human, borrowed from the light and shade of the world of imagination and fancy in which he lives and dreams.<sup>79</sup>

It may be added that in England, the accent in English being thrown so far back, many of the common place-names have been telescoped out of the recognition of all but the etymologist ; in Wales, on the other hand, names have retained their significance from the very earliest times, and descriptive words like *Mochtreu* convey much more to the Welshman than the equivalent *Swindon* to the Englishman.

### *Disguised Onomastic Tales.*

§305. This is the point where it is most convenient to discuss the onomastic references lost in the present version of *Math*, but to which a clue occurs in the text. The first is contained in the rather curious statement in the *Death of Pryderi* : *ac ual y gyt ac y doethant hyt y Uelenryt, y pedyt ny ellit eu reoli o ymsaethu.* “ And as they came together as far as Y Velenrhyd, the foot-soldiers (*peditus*) could not be restrained from shooting at each other.” It is curious that this rare word should be used here, and that one section of the army should be thus particularised, but the reason is clear when it is understood that on Y Voryd, on the route of the army, was a ford called *Rhyd y Pedestri*, “ the Infantry Ford.”<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *CF*, p. 555.

<sup>80</sup> “ There was a Roman road to Dinas Dinlle from *Caer Seiont* [Caernarvon]; and the place where this road crosses the river Y Voryd is called *Rhyd yr equestri*, and another place near by is called *Rhyd y pedestri*, that is the ford of the Cavalry and the Ford of the Infantry.” *Cymru* (Owen Jones), ii, p. 56 *sub* Llandwrog. See also *Arch. Camb.* Series 5, vol. XII, p. 148 ; *RWM*, Panton, MS. 18, where the names are given as *Pedestr* and *Equestr*.



The onomastic story has been preserved, but the name which it pretended to explain has dropped out of the narrative. We can deduce one further fact from the consideration of this episode,—that the name had already disappeared in the *cyvarwyddyd* on which this portion of the Mabinogi was based, because the incident in *Math* is out of place. It was not on the march to Dyved that it happened, but on Y Voryd, in the very spot between the manors of Coed Alun and Penardd where the actual battle was fought ; that is to say, the incident was originally a part of the history of the battle itself.<sup>81</sup>

§306. The second example does not occur in the *Death of Pryderi* but is dealt with here for the sake of convenience. When Blodeuwedd fled before the anger of her husband—“*she took her maidens with her and sought the mountain, and they knew not how to walk for fear . . . and they did not know until they fell in the lake, and they were all drowned but herself.*” The intrusion of this episode is strange, as there had been no previous mention of the maidens, nor any reason why they should flee, nor any justice in their being drowned. The incident is recorded in order to explain the name of the lake into which they fell.<sup>82</sup> On the road taken by Blodeuwedd from Mur y Castell to the mountains stands a lake called to this day *Llyn y Morynion*, “the Lake of the Maidens.”

<sup>81</sup> A curiously similar onomastic story is mentioned by Rhys (*CF*, p. 473). “. . . . Arthur and his following set out from Dinas Emrys and crossed Hafod y Borth mountain for a place above the upper reach of Cwmllan, called Tregalan, where they found their antagonists. From Tregalan the latter were pushed up the bwlch or pass, towards Cwm Dyli; but when the vanguard of the army with Arthur leading had reached the top of the pass, *the enemy discharged a shower of arrows at them.* There Arthur fell; . . . the pass is called *Bwlch y Saethau*, ‘the Pass of the Arrows.’”

<sup>82</sup> At the same time it must be remembered that the maidens often suffer the same fate as their mistress. Dechtire, sister of Conchobar, and her maidens, turn themselves into birds in the *Compert Conculaind. Irische Texte*, pp. 134–145. In the account of Balor’s daughter, both in its Irish and its Welsh form, her maidens are treated like herself.

*The Topography of Math.*

§307. There is not much to be said on the subject of the topography of *Math*, because nearly all the places mentioned in the mabinogi are well known to this day under the same names. If the places through which the swine are made to pass are disregarded as being accidental to the story, the names then fall into two distinct groups, (a) those centering around Dinlle (Din Lleu) in Arvon, and (b) those centering around Llew's court at Tomen y Mur (Mur y Castell) in the uplands of Ardudwy. That is to say, the main theme of *Math*, the story of Beli, his daughter Arianrhod, and his grandson Llew, is staged around the *din* named after Llew (Lleu), and the second theme, that of the *Unfaithful Wife*, in Ardudwy. As to the first, the names are of three kinds,—those which are mentioned in *Math*, but are not in themselves reminiscent of the Lleu tradition, such as Bryn Aerau, Cefn Cludno, Coed Alun, Penardd; those which are mentioned in *Math* and owe their form to the Lleu tradition, such as Nantlleu, and Caer Arianrhod; those which are not mentioned in *Math*, but are found in the locality, and bear witness to the genuineness of the tradition, such as Lleuar, Maen Dylan, and Bryn Gwydion.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Some other instances of significant place-names which are not mentioned in *Math*, though they obviously bear some relation to the legend contained in it, may be mentioned here. First, there are two names connected with the blow which Gronwy Pevr gave to Llew. Two names in the locality are given, *Bryncyvergyd*, "The Hill of the Blow," and *Llech Ronawy*, "the stone of Gronwy." There is, however, one other name in the immediate vicinity which must be related to the incident, namely, *Bryn Llech*, "The Hill of the Stone [of Gronwy]." (*Hanes Plwyf Ffestiniog*, p. 36. See also map included in that work). *Bryn Saeth* (Hill of the Dart) is also given in this work, but I am assured by natives of the parish that the common form is *Bryn (y) Saer*, (the Carpenter's Hill). Secondly, besides names in the neighbourhood of Dinas Dinlle which refer to the legend of Llew and Gwydion, namely the two farms called *Lleuar*, "the place of Lleu," in the Nantlle district

§308. Now the question inevitably arises,—did the Lleu legend borrow its names from existing names in the locality where it was staged, or were those places actually named after incidents in the legend? The answer will probably be a surprise to a generation which is only now beginning to find that confirmations of tradition are not mere coincidences, and that a tradition which is unhistorical (in the sense that its incidents never happened in fact) may have given rise to undoubted facts, such as the place-names in its locality. There is no doubt that a Lleu legend connected with that particular district in Arvon existed in times at least as early as the naming of the places.

and *Bryn Gwydion*, “the Hill of Gwydion,” between Nantlle and Dinlle, (*Cymru*, Owen Jones, I, 156), there is a third name near the shore at Dinas Dinlle which may explain a difficult word in the *englynion* sung to Llew as an eagle:

*ony dywedaf i eu  
oulodeu Lleu pan yw hynn.*

I have already discussed the word *oulodeu* (Notes to text, p. 44) and shown that it may be for *aelodau*, “limbs.” But the word and the idea are strange, especially as we have no legend describing a dismemberment of Llew. See *Golden Bough*, (Adonis), p. 332. It may, however, refer to this place near Dinas Dinlle, *Caer Loda*, or *Caer Loda*, “the *Caer* or the Field of the Loda.” An old native explained to Rhys (*CF*, p. 207) that it was a corruption of *Caer Aelodau*, which is quite possible as the usual form of *aelodau* in the Gwynedd dialect is *loda*. I must leave the matter unsolved, merely pointing out that if *Caer Loda* accounts for the reference in the *englynion*, either there must have been two versions, one placing the discovery of the eagle, (as in *Math*), at Nantlle, and the other at Dinlle; in that case, the *englynion* were composed after the transference of the incident, as the first line of the *englynion* distinctly indicates *Bala Deulyn*, in Nantlle: or the legend about the *aelodau* of Lleu must have been so important and widely diffused that it became localised in two places. For the use of *aelodau* for the eagle’s legs, compare *Salomon et Marcolfus* (edited by Prof. Henry Lewis, *BBCS*, iii, p. 273): *wedi gwnelynt amrauaelion elioedh o vreichieu ac aelodau yr eryr*, “when they had made many different ointments from the arms and limbs of the eagle.” The “arms” are apparently the wings, and the “limbs” the legs. Are these technical names for the parts of an eagle’s body?

In other words, the legend was the cause of the names, and not the names of the legend.<sup>84</sup>

§309. Our study has inevitably led us to the conclusion that this particular form of the *King and his Prophesied Death* is Celtic, and not borrowed into Welsh tradition from the outside. Further we have seen that there is a strong presumption, for instance in the name-giving, (§181) and in the forms of the names Mathien, Gwydion, Gilvaethwy and Caer Dathal, that it was originally developed by an Irish-speaking people. The locality in which it is placed makes that conclusion the more certain. The district which cradled the mythology and legend of Lleu in Wales was Irish in speech, probably in the remote parts, up to the Norman Conquest.<sup>85</sup> The old view championed by Rhys<sup>86</sup> was that the Irish on their way to Ireland had passed through Britain and that some of them had remained on the west side of Wales. No one, as far as I am aware, now holds this opinion, which was utterly demolished by Zimmer<sup>87</sup> and Kuno Meyer.<sup>88</sup> It has now become evident that from about the end of the third century A.D., there had been continuous settlements of Irish invaders in those districts of Wales which faced Ireland, and that Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, West Merioneth, and Pembrokeshire had in the early centuries a

<sup>84</sup> This is true of a great number of onomastic tales, of which students of stories are far too apt to think that they have said the last word when they prove that they were meant to explain a name. See the note (§303) on *Aelhaearn*.

<sup>85</sup> I am quite aware that to suppose that some Irish was spoken up to the time of the early Gogynfeirdd is almost revolutionary, but all my observation has led me to that conclusion.

<sup>86</sup> And adopted by myself in 1912 in *THSC*, 1912-13, more from *pietas* than conviction.

<sup>87</sup> *Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland?* Berlin.

<sup>88</sup> *THSC*, 1895-6. An excellent discussion of the subject is found in Miss Cecile O'Rahilly's *Ireland and Wales*, pp. 1-34.

predominantly Irish-speaking population.<sup>89</sup> The west coast of Caernarvonshire in particular was overrun by the Irish, as the names *Lley*n and *Porth Dinllaen* show.<sup>90</sup> On the very border of that land of the Leinstermen stands the district in which the story of *The King and his Prophesied Death* is localised.

### Caer Dathal.

§310. The name of Math's court, Caer Dathal, has remained half Irish. The second element, as we have already shown, is *Tathal*,<sup>91</sup> correctly *Tuathal*, an Irish form cognate with the native *Tudwal*, from a Celtic *Toutovalos*. The situation of Caer Dathal is now a matter of pure conjecture, and it is probable that at the time when the Irish of Arvon were becoming Welsh in speech the name no longer denoted any known place and did not therefore suffer the change from an Irish to a Welsh form, which other names in common use underwent;<sup>92</sup> it was just a name in a story. *Tuathal*, in its Welsh form *Tudwal*, gave his name to many places in Caernarvonshire, such as *Tudweiliog*, "the place of *Tudwal*," but none of these are in the immediate vicinity of Dinlle. But a few miles to the south, a parish in the peninsula of *Lley*n

<sup>89</sup> Even in the early 14th century, one Welsh poet could say in praise of another that his Welsh was *diseisnig* and *diwyddelig*, "uncontaminated by English and Irish."

<sup>90</sup> The significance of these names is that we have here evidence of the Irish language in its actual inflexions. *Lley*n represents the Irish nom. pl. *Laigin*, "Leinstermen" and *Llaen* the gen. pl. *Laegen*, so that *Porth Dinllaen* means "the harbour of Dun Laegen,"—the fort of the Leinstermen. These names were first explained by Rhŷs, (*Arch. Camb.* Series 5. Vol. IX, p. 72).

<sup>91</sup> *Caer Dathal* was naturally regarded by the medieval writer as containing in its last syllable the usual extended glide between *th* and *l*; so they wrote it *dathyl*. That the correct form is Caer Dathal is proved by the *cynghanedd* in a line by Cynddelw:

Am ardal Caer Dathal y doethant, (*MA*, p. 151 b.).

<sup>92</sup> This process goes on to this day. *Rhos y Gath*, in Anglesey, "the ross of the Battle," is often spoken of as *Rhos y Gad* in 'learned' speech.

and an island on the south coast of Caernarvonshire with its surrounding bay bear the name of Tudwal. When Gwydion had made a sty for the swine at Creuwyrion in the cantrev of Arllechwedd he went to Caer Dathal and told Math that he had made a sty "in the other cantrev below." This is an indication, it seems to me, that Caer Dathal was in Arvon, as the phrase *y cantref arall*, "the other cantrev" can hardly apply to any cantrev but the very next. One would be inclined to seek for the site of Caer Dathal in a part of Arvon which may be said to be near enough to the Tudwal district to bear the name of Tudwal, and, following the tendency among modern scholars, to fix upon the great fortress of Tre'r Ceiri in the Eivl mountains as the probable site of Caer Dathal. When Gwydion took his son to get a name, he walked from Caer Dathal along the sea-shore, in the direction of Aber Menai, the western entrance of the Menai Straits, and came to Caer Arianrhod. Caer Arianrhod was therefore between Aber Menai and Caer Dathal, and Caer Dathal was south of Caer Arianrhod, and that is where Tre'r Ceiri stands. The expression "below," in Gwydion's description of "the other cantrev" may be understood in two senses, (a) nearer the sea, which is a common meaning in Welsh topography, (b) below in altitude. Now the only place "below" which Creuwyrion might be said to be, in the former sense, would be somewhere in the Snowdon mountains. In the latter sense both Creuwyrion and the surrounding country would be below the hill-fortress of Tre'r Ceiri, though Creuwyrion is called "the highest *trev* in Arllechwedd." The choice seems to lie then between a place in the Snowdon mountains, and Tre'r Ceiri, both of which would be higher than the highest *trev* in the neighbouring cantrev. Gwydion's walk with his son, already referred to, rules out any place in Snowdon; so that the weight of evidence is in favour of Tre'r Ceiri. All this, of course, is on the assumption that the

"author" himself knew where *Caer Dathal* was. Whether he did or not, he must have identified it with some place, and that place was probably *Tre'r Ceiri*.<sup>93</sup>

*Mur y Castell.*

§311. The story of *Blodeuwedd* and *Gronwy Pevr* is staged in the uplands of *Ardudwy*, in the modern *Merioneth*. The names given in this portion are for the most part well-known to this day, the only name about which there may be any doubt being *Mur y Castell*. This almost certainly is the old fort now called *Tomen y Mur*, a Roman station of some importance, concerning which *Lloyd* says that it was in the middle ages a residence of the chieftains of *Ardudwy*.<sup>94</sup>

§312. It is more than probable that when the two stories of *The King and his Prophesied Death* and of *Blodeuwedd* were joined together in one *mabinogi*, each of them carried with it its own local traditions. That is to say, they were well known to the *cyfarwydden* and their audience as belonging to *Arvon* and *Ardudwy* respectively, and had become thoroughly identified with their own localities. That is why *Llew*, who by all traditions belonged to the *Dinlle* and *Nantlle* districts, was made to have a court in *Ardudwy*. It was asking too much of the Welsh public to transfer the episode of *Blodeuwedd* to *Arvon* from *Ardudwy*. This is a point of great importance as it shows that the *Blodeuwedd* episode, as we have it, was

<sup>93</sup> Other places have been considered at different times,—*Caernarvon*, which is ruled out by the description of *Gwydion's* journey with *Llew*; and a place near *Llanrwst* mentioned by *Lady Charlotte Guest* in her notes to her translation, following *Cambro-Briton* II, p. 37, which is impossible for the same reason. A more likely site is a large old *caer* between *Penygroes* and *Llanllyfni* called *Bryn Hengaer*, "the Hill of the Old *Caer*," and *Caer Bryn yr Hengaer*, "the *Caer* of the Hill-of-the-Old-*Caer*." The tautology in the latter form shows that the original name is lost. (See *Cymru*—*Owen Jones*—II, 155.)

<sup>94</sup> *History of Wales*, pp. 68–9. See also *Hanes Plwyf Ffestiniog*, pp. 24–31.

not originally a part of the life-history of Llew Llawgyffes, as we have on other grounds attempted to prove. The verse quoted from the "Englynion of the Graves" says that Llew was buried near the sea, "where his kinsman was." His whole life was lived around his own home at Dinlle.

### *The Roman Tradition.*

§313. Before we conclude this portion, another point deserves attention. It must have been remarked by all students of the Arthurian Legend how that legend grew, not around the native *din* and *rdth* and *dun*, but around those places where there was a definite Roman tradition. Archaeologists still hope to find Arthur's Round Table at Caerlleon on Usk ; they have not yet realised that the old caers of the Romans were to the Britons, in whose mind these legends grew, the symbols of a great past in which they had no part, and that it was the wistful memory of ancient greatness which made them connect their Arthur, born in evil times of good old Roman blood, with the relics of that greatness which they saw about them ; so Caer Vyrddin, Caer Llion, Caer Seint and many another Caer were inevitably made the scenes of Arthur's splendour and great exploits ; even Cardigan,<sup>95</sup> due to the accidental similarity of its name to those of genuine Roman towns, was adopted into the Arthurian family.

§314. In *Math*, one cannot help seeing the old Roman tradition. The district of Dinlle, bordering on Caer Seint, the ancient Segontium, was full of Roman remains ; Dinlle itself had been used by the Romans as a station. Pryderi, as he marched southwards, followed the famous Roman road Sarn Elen, "Helen's Causeway," up to where it joins the Via Occidentalis from Caermarthen. The whole action of

<sup>95</sup> *Cardigan*, probably the Arthurian *Caradignan*, is for Med W. *Ceredigianwn*, "the land of Coroticus."



the latter part, the story of Blodeuwedd and Gronwy Pevr, centres around Mur y Castell with its Roman memories ; the only way by which Llew could go to visit Math at Caer Dathal was along a road made by Roman hands. It is well that we should remember that the native stories of Wales, about which there can be no question of Great or Little Britain, are in this respect as in many others a true basis of Arthurian tradition.



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PART VIII.  
CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

book, I have attempted to disentangle the threads in the composition of *Math*; that is, the traditions which, in different ways and in different orders, have acted and re-acted upon each other to produce the *Mabinogi* as we possess it. It will be impossible in a summary to include all the details which have been discussed, but the main traditions will be given here in their probable order of evolution.

The basis of *Math* is a Legend of a King and his Prophesied Death. This legend is by no means Celtic in origin; it is universal, and was told in Egypt, in Palestine, and in Greece as well as in Ireland and Wales.<sup>96</sup> The particular form into which, in course of time, it developed in Wales was this:

*First Stage, Irish.*

(1) Beli, (Balor) King of Arvon had a daughter Arianrhod. He was an oppressor of the people and a great magician. It was prophesied by his druid that his daughter would have a child called Llew Llaw Gyfes, whose father would be of the family of Dôn. This Llew Llaw Gyfes would kill Beli on his (Llew's) wedding night with a magic spear. In order to keep his daughter from having a son, Beli made her his foot-holder, so that her virginity would be assured. There were living under Beli's rule three brothers of the family of Dôn, one of whom, Gwydion, was helped by a magician, Mathien (son of Mathonwy?), to gain access to Arianrhod, when Beli was away involved in a war caused by Gwydion for the purpose. In due time, Arianrhod gave birth to a son who was born helmeted in a caul, and the guardian appointed by Beli to watch the birth tried to drown him, but, having a caul, he could swim like a fish. Gwydion snatched up the caul and hid it in a box. In time the caul developed into a well-grown boy. When Beli understood that his

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix.

first two precautions (namely his attempt to keep his daughter a virgin, and his attempt to drown the child at birth) had failed of their object, he swore upon the child a destiny that he should have no name; because if he had no name he would not be the Llew Llaw Gyfes of the prophecy. Gwydion and his son then went to Beli in the guise of shoemakers, (because in tradition Llew was known as a patron of shoemakers) and offered to make shoes for Beli. Gwydion cut the leather himself and set the boy to stitch, but he purposely made the shoes a misfit. Beli then came in person to have his foot measured, and Gwydion told the boy to cut the leather. The boy did so, and the shoes were a perfect fit. "Ah," said Beli, "it is the *lughu* (smaller) that is *lamhchomhes* (skilful of hand)." "You have given him a name," said Gwydion, "in spite of the destiny which you swore upon him. *Lughu Lamhchomhes*—Llew Llawgyfes is his name." Beli then swore a second destiny upon him, that he should have no arms, because without arms he could never have a magic spear. Gwydion again disguised himself and Llew and got Beli, by a trick,<sup>97</sup> to arm Llew. Beli, lastly, swore on Llew a destiny that he should have no wife of any race on earth, because, having no wife, Llew could not kill him on his wedding night as foretold in the prophecy. Gwydion by the help of the druid Mathien (*vab Mathonwy*) made a woman out of flowers and named her *Blodeuwedd*. The conditions of the prophecy were now fulfilled, and on the night of the wedding, Llew hurled the magic spear into Beli's body, as he was getting ready to burn Arvon with his evil eye.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>97</sup> I am inclined to think that the trick described in *Math* was introduced after the destiny-swearing had been transferred from Beli to Arianrhod, and that it supplanted some simpler method.

<sup>98</sup> That this tradition was found in Wales is suggested by the *Vita Sancti Germani*, which underlies a part of Nennius. See §§112-15.

§316. At some point in the growth of the composite whole the episode of the birth of Lleu Llaw Gyves and Dylan became contaminated with a *Twin-birth* tradition, resting on a popular belief that twin births are shameful, and cast a reflexion upon the chastity of the mother. [The very fact of the twin brother being in the story at all may have arisen from a tradition such as we found in the Irish *B* that other children were born on that night to Arianrhod's attendant maidens, and that they were all drowned, a tradition connected with the *delg* of the Irish story and with Dylan in Welsh]. So the story acquired the fact of the mother's shame as an important feature. Once this feature became prominent, it drew to itself the independent legend of the *Incestuous Birth*, a form of story in which the son's life is endangered because his parents are brother and sister. So that it came to be said of Arianrhod that she was Gwydion's sister; her name, therefore, was given not as Arianrhod daughter of Beli, but as Arianrhod daughter of Dôn, because Gwydion was the son of Dôn. One of the most important features of the *Incestuous-Birth* story was that the child so born had no name. The swearing of the destiny that Gwydion's son should have no name was therefore gradually transferred to the mother, and with it went the other two destinies, especially as in some forms of the *Incestuous-Birth* story, there are distinct traces of arms as well as a name being denied.

§317. Now that the swearing of the destinies was transferred from Beli to Arianrhod, its meaning as an attempt to overcome the prophecy was no longer known, and the prophecy itself had no connexion with the plot of the story, so that it dropped out altogether. The result of these changes, together with minor changes which took place at this stage, will now be set out as the Second Stage in the evolution of *Math* :

*Second Stage, Irish.*

Beli, King of Arvon, could not live unless he had Arianrhod, daughter of Dôn, as his foot-holder. There were living under Beli's rule three brothers of the family of Dôn, one of whom, Gwydion, was helped by a magician, Mathien son of Mathonwy, to gain access to Arianrhod, when Beli was away involved in a war caused by Gwydion for the purpose. In due time, Arianrhod gave birth to two sons, and one of them sought the sea [contamination by some such legend as that of *Ŷ Fôrforwyn*, §231], after he had been baptized by the name of Dylan, and could swim as well as any fish, but they overlooked some "little thing" of her that she had left behind, which Gwydion snatched up and hid in a box. In time this "little thing" developed into a well-grown boy. One day Gwydion took the boy to Arianrhod his mother, and she was so ashamed that she swore upon the child a destiny that he should have no name. Gwydion and the child then went to Arianrhod in a ship in the guise of shoemakers, and offered to make shoes for Arianrhod. He cut the leather himself and set the boy to stitch, but he purposely made the shoes a mis-fit. Arianrhod came in person aboard the ship to have her foot measured, and Gwydion told the boy to cut the leather. The boy did so and the shoes were a perfect fit. "Ah," said Arianrhod, "it is the *lughu* (smaller) that is *lamhchomhes* (skilful of hand.\*)" "You have given him a name," said Gwydion, "in spite of the destiny which you swore upon him. *Lughu Lamhchomhes*,—*Lleu Llawgyves* is his name." Arianrhod then swore a second destiny upon him that he should have no arms, unless she gave them. Gwydion disguised himself and Lleu as bards and went to *Caer Arianrhod*, staying there the night. [Here comes a probable reminiscence of (a) a traditional description of

Caer Arianrhod as having a port full of ships, as in *Yonac*, §120; (b) some such legend as the meeting of mother and son preserved in a much altered form in the *Empress of Rome*, §265]. In the morning Gwydion made a fleet by magic, and Arianrhod, seeking the help of the two strangers against her supposed enemies, put armour on Lleu. So that is how he got arms. Lastly, Arianrhod swore on Lleu a destiny that he should have no wife of any race on earth. Gwydion, with the help of Mathien, made him a wife out of flowers, and named her Blodeuwedd, and Lleu, on his wedding night, slew Beli with a magic spear, as he was getting ready to burn Arvon with his evil eye.

§318. The vital point in the narrative is now the name *Blodeuwedd*. Blodeuwedd was the traditional name of the Owl who had once been a woman and had been transformed into a bird for her sins. It is necessary to suppose that there was a definite stage in the story, in which this tradition was incorporated in its simple form. That stage, then, was as follows :

### *Third Stage, Irish.*

Beli, King of Arvon, could not live unless he had Arianrhod, daughter of Dôn, as his foot-holder. There were living under Beli's rule three brothers of the family of Dôn, one of whom, Gwydion, was helped by a magician, Mathien son of Mathonwy, to gain access to Arianrhod, when Beli was away involved in a war caused by Gwydion for the purpose. In due time, Arianrhod gave birth to two sons, and one of them sought the sea after he had been baptized by the name of Dylan, and could swim as well as any fish, but they overlooked some "little



thing" of her that she had left behind, which Gwydion snatched up and hid in a box. In time this "little thing" developed into a well-grown boy. One day Gwydion took the boy to Arianrhod his mother, and she was so ashamed that she swore upon the child a destiny that he should have no name. Gwydion and the child then went to Arianrhod in a ship in the guise of shoemakers, and offered to make shoes for Arianrhod. He cut the leather himself and set the boy to stitch, but he purposely made the shoes a mis-fit. Arianrhod came in person aboard the ship to have her foot measured, and Gwydion told the boy to cut the leather. The boy did so and the shoes were a perfect fit. "Ah," said Arianrhod, "it is the *lughu* (smaller) that is *lamhchomhes* ("skilful of hand.") "You have given him a name," said Gwydion, "in spite of the destiny which you swore upon him. *Lughu Lamhchomhes*,—*Lleu Llawgyves*—is his name." Arianrhod then swore a second destiny upon him that he should have no arms, unless she gave them. Gwydion disguised himself and Lleu as bards and went to *Caer Arianrhod*, staying there the night. In the morning Gwydion made a fleet by magic, and Arianrhod, seeking the help of the two strangers against her supposed enemies, put armour on Lleu. So that is how he got arms. Lastly, Arianrhod swore on Lleu a destiny that he should have no wife of any race on earth. Gwydion, with the help of Math, made him a wife of flowers, and named her *Blodeuwedd*. She was unfaithful to Lleu, and therefore to punish her for her misconduct, Gwydion struck her with his magic wand and transformed her into an owl, and that is why the Owl is called *Blodeuwedd* to this day. Lleu slew *Beli* with a magic spear.

§319. The vital point is still Blodeuwedd. The name was similar enough to that of the heroine of a very well known and widely diffused legend, namely *Blodned*,<sup>99</sup> to attract the whole of that legend into the corpus of *Math*. The next stage would include, then, the history of Bláthnat and Cúrói, though doubtless in an altered form. The slaying of Beli with a magic spear had long lost all meaning, but the tradition of Lleu as a marksman still persisted, especially as it is likely that the second account of the name-giving was added about this time (§183), because the significance of the name in Irish had been lost. The story would now read somewhat as follows :

*Fourth Stage, Welsh.*

Beli, King of Arvon, could not live unless he had Arianrhod, daughter of Dôn, as his foot-holder. There were living under Beli's rule three brothers of the family of Dôn, one of whom, Gwydion, was helped by a magician, Mathien son of Mathonwy, to gain access to Arianrhod, when Beli was away involved in a war caused by Gwydion for the purpose. In due time, Arianrhod gave birth to a son, who sought the sea immediately after he had been baptized by the name of Dylan, and could swim as well as any fish ; but they overlooked some "little thing" of her that she had left behind, which Gwydion snatched up and hid in a box. In time, this "little thing" developed into a well-grown boy. One day Gwydion took the boy to Arianrhod his mother, and she was so ashamed that she swore upon the child a destiny that he should have no name. Gwydion and Lleu then went to Arianrhod in a ship in the guise of shoemakers, and offered to make shoes for Arianrhod. He cut the leather himself and set the boy to stitch, but he purposely made the shoes a mis-fit. Arianrhod came aboard the ship to have her

<sup>99</sup> Conjecturally formed as the Welsh equivalent of *Bláthnat*.

foot measured. On that, a wren alighted on board, and the boy hit it between the sinews of the leg and the bone. "It was with an unerring hand (*llawgyves*) that the lion (*Llew*) hit it," said she. "You have given him a name," said Gwydion, "in spite of the destiny which you swore upon him. Llew *Llawgyves* is his name." Arianrhod then swore a second destiny upon him that he should have no arms, unless she gave them. Gwydion disguised himself and Llew as bards and went to *Caer Arianrhod*, staying there the night. In the morning Gwydion made a fleet by magic, and Arianrhod, seeking the help of the two strangers against her supposed enemies, put armour on Llew. So that is how he got arms. Lastly, Arianrhod swore on Llew a destiny that he should have no wife of any race on earth. Gwydion, with the help of Mathien, made him a wife out of flowers, and named her *Blodeuwedd*. She was unfaithful to Llew, and this is how she was unfaithful to him. One day she turned round the revolving castle in which she was confined by Llew and saw through the door a strange hunter. He was *Gronwy Pevr*, lord of *Penllyn*. They fell in love with each other, and conspired how to get rid of Llew. So under guise of care for him she found that he could only be killed in a certain position<sup>500</sup> with a magic spear. She communicated with *Gronwy Pevr*, who had prepared the magic spear, and when *Blodeuwedd* had got Llew into the proper position, *Gronwy* hurled the spear into his body, and killed him. When Gwydion found this out, he punished *Blodeuwedd* by turning her into an owl, and that is why the Owl is called *Blodeuwedd* to this day. Llew slew someone<sup>1</sup> with a magic spear.

<sup>500</sup> What the position was, in this stage, I do not know. It was, probably, to judge from the story of *Cúrói*, while he was having his head washed.

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that by this time the slaying of *Beli* having lost all meaning, the name *Beli* was not connected with the incident.

§320. How the two facts that Llew had both been killed by Gronwy and had, as the crowning act of his life, killed Beli, were reconciled, I do not know, but it seems probable that it was at this stage that the transference of the slaying of an indefinite "someone" to the slaying of Gronwy took place, and that about the same time, partly as a consequence of this, Llew was said not to have been killed but to have been changed into an eagle, in order (a) to account for his being able to kill Gronwy Pevr *after* Gronwy had struck him, and (b) to fit Blodeuwedd's punishment. Consequent on this change was the tracing of Llew by Gwydion :

*Fifth Stage, Welsh.*

Beli, King of Arvon, could not live unless he had Arianrhod, daughter of Dôn, as his foot-holder. There were living under Beli's rule three brothers of the family of Dôn, one of whom, Gwydion, was helped by a magician, Math son of Mathonwy, to gain access to Arianrhod, when Beli was away involved in a war caused by Gwydion for the purpose. In due time, Arianrhod gave birth to a son, who sought the sea immediately after he had been baptized by the name of Dylan, and could swim as well as any fish, but they overlooked some "little thing" of her that she had left behind, which Gwydion snatched up and hid in a box. In time this "little thing" developed into a well-grown boy. One day Gwydion took the boy to Arianrhod, his mother, and she was so ashamed that she swore upon the child a destiny that he should have no name. Gwydion and his son then went to Arianrhod in a ship in the guise of shoemakers, and offered to make shoes for Arianrhod. He cut the leather himself and set the boy to stitch, but he purposely made the shoes a mis-fit. Arianrhod came aboard the ship to have her foot measured. On that a wren alighted on

board, and the boy hit it between the sinews of the leg and the bone. "It was *Llawgyves* that the *Llew* hit it," said she. "You have given him a name," said Gwydion, "in spite of the destiny which you swore upon him. *Llew Llawgyves* is his name." Arianrhod then swore a second destiny upon him that he should have no arms, unless she gave them. Gwydion disguised himself and *Llew* as bards and went to *Caer Arianrhod*, staying there the night. In the morning Gwydion made a fleet by magic, and Arianrhod, seeking the help of the two strangers against her supposed enemies, put armour on *Llew*. So that is how he got arms. Lastly, Arianrhod swore on *Llew* a destiny that he should have no wife of any race on earth. Gwydion, with the help of *Math*, made him a wife out of flowers, and named her *Blodeuwedd*. She was unfaithful to *Llew*, and this is how she was unfaithful to him. One day she turned round the revolving castle in which she was confined and saw through the door a strange hunter. He was *Gronwy Pevr*, lord of *Penllyn*. They fell in love with each other, and conspired how to get rid of *Llew*. So under guise of care for him she found that he could only be killed in a certain position with a magic spear. She communicated with *Gronwy Pevr*, who had prepared the magic spear, and when *Blodeuwedd* had got *Llew* into the proper position, *Gronwy* hurled the spear into his body, and *Llew* flew away in the form of an eagle. Gwydion and *Math* were very grieved and Gwydion sought everywhere for him, but could not find him. One day he followed a sow to *Baladeulyn* and found her eating rotten flesh and maggots dropped from a wounded eagle which was perched in an oak-tree. Gwydion sang three *englynion* to the eagle, who dropped on his lap. Gwydion struck him with his magic wand into his own shape.

He afterwards punished Blodeuedd by turning her into an owl, and that is why the Owl is called Blodeuwedd to this day. Then Llew to avenge his wrongs slew Gronwy Pevr with the magic spear.

§321. I suppose that the *cyvarwyddydd* had attained the form described above when the most puzzling of all the changes took place, namely the contamination of the last part by the story of the *Unfaithful Wife*. After that contamination had taken place, the *cyvarwydd* was faced with a serious difficulty. He knew what Blodeuwedd's punishment and Gronwy's was, and yet the punishment in the *Unfaithful Wife* was the changing of the wife, Goewin, and her lover, Gilvaethwy, into a pair of animals three times in succession. By what stages (of which there must have been many) the present complicated account grew, it is impossible to tell, and it would be a waste of ingenuity to try and trace them here. What we are fairly certain of is that, (a) Goewin and Gilvaethwy, the guilty pair of the *Unfaithful Wife* now supplanted Arianrhod and Gwydion as foot-holder and lover ; (b) Gwydion who was essential to the story was retained, supplanting Math as the Helping Druid or Magician in all but one incident (§§101-2) ; (c) Math was retained, supplanting Beli who thus disappears altogether,—he had long ceased to be the foot-holder's father ; (d) the punishment of the guilty pair as described in the *Unfaithful Wife* was transferred from Gilvaethwy and Goewin to Gilvaethwy and Gwydion. How much of the *Unfaithful Wife* was contained in stages intermediate between the Fifth Stage and the Sixth it is impossible to tell. It is probable however that the essential preliminary portion, namely the changing of the husband into different animals never formed part of the *cyvarwyddydd*, except in so far as it may have coloured the account of Blodeuwedd's intrigue ; it is likely that the accounts of the cajoling of Llew by Blodeuwedd is substantially derived from that source. It was at this point that the

independent tradition of the *Test of Intelligence* (§§268 ff) was introduced as amplifying the original description of the magic position for transformation, being in a bath without clothes. We thus arrive at what was probably the penultimate stage of *Math* and the ultimate stage of the *cyvarwyddyd* on which it was based.

### *Sixth Stage.*

Math, King of Arvon, could not live unless he had Goewin daughter of Pebin as his foot-holder. There were three brothers, nephews of Math, one of whom, Gilvaethwy was helped by his brother, (*and by Math who saw Gilvaethwy and Goewin placed to sleep together, §§101-2*) to gain access to Goewin, when Math was away involved in a war caused by Gwydion for the purpose. After the war was over, Math married Goewin and punished Gwydion and Gilvaethwy by turning them into a pair of animals, male and female, three times in succession. They had offspring of each other in their three forms, and the names of their offspring Hyddwn, Bleiddwn, Hychtwn, are commemorated in an englyn. After he had punished them, Math forgave his nephews. Arianrhod, daughter of Dôn gave birth to a son, who sought the sea immediately after he had been baptized by the name of Dylan, and could swim as well as any fish, but they overlooked some "little thing of her" that she had left behind, which Gwydion snatched up and hid in a box. In time this little thing developed into a well-grown boy. One day Gwydion took the boy to Arianrhod his mother, and she was so ashamed that she swore upon the child a destiny that he should have no name. Gwydion and the child then went to Arianrhod in a ship in the guise of shoemakers, and offered to make shoes for Arianrhod. Gwydion himself cut the leather and set the boy to stitch,

but he purposely made the shoes a mis-fit. Arianrhod came aboard the ship to have her foot measured. On that, a wren alighted on board, and the boy hit it between the sinews of the leg and the bone. "It was llawgyves that the Llew hit it," said she. "You have given him a name," said Gwydion, "in spite of the destiny which you swore upon him,—Llew Llawgyves is his name." Arianrhod then swore a second destiny upon him that he should have no arms, unless she gave them. Gwydion disguised himself and Llew as bards and went to Caer Arianrhod, staying there the night. In the morning, Gwydion made a fleet by magic, and Arianrhod, seeking the help of the two strangers against her supposed enemies, put armour on Llew. So that is how he got arms. Lastly, Arianrhod swore on Llew a destiny that he should have no wife of any race on earth. Gwydion, with the help of Math, made him a wife out of flowers and named her Blodeuwedd. One day Blodeuwedd turned within her castle and saw a strange hunter. He was Gronwy Pevr, lord of Penllyn. They fell in love with each other, and conspired how to get rid of Llew. So under guise of care for him she found that he could be killed neither dressed or undressed, neither in a house nor out of a house, neither on horseback nor afoot. He must be killed with a magic spear prepared in a certain manner. She communicated with Gronwy Pevr, who had prepared the magic spear, and when Blodeuwedd had got Llew into the proper position, Gronwy hurled the spear into his body, and Llew flew away in the form of an eagle. Gwydion and Math were very grieved, and Gwydion sought everywhere for him but could not find him. One day he followed a sow to Baladeulyn, and found her eating rotten flesh and maggots dropped from a wounded eagle perched on an oak-tree. Gwydion sang three



*englynion* to the eagle, who dropped on his lap. Gwydion struck him with his magic wand into his own shape. He afterwards punished Blodeuwedd by turning her into an owl, and that is why the Owl is called Blodeuwedd to this day. Then Llew to avenge his wrongs slew Gronwy Pevr with a magic spear.

§322. We now come to the final stage when the *cyuarwyddyd* as outlined in the Sixth Stage was adopted as a Mabinogi. That was done by incorporating within it an existing *Fourth Branch* namely the *Death of Pryderi* which included the *Journey of the Swine*. It is probable that a few other changes were now made in order to give coherence to the whole *Mabinogi*. For instance, the offering of Arianrhod as a second foot-holder in order to get over the awkward transition from the rape of Goewin to the birth of Arianrhod's son. So that finally we have

#### *Seventh Stage.*

This was substantially the text of the Mabinogi as we now possess it, and as printed at the beginning of this book.



## **APPENDIX**

APPENDIX<sup>2</sup>

§323. I have throughout this inquiry deliberately confined myself to the *King and his Prophetied Death* as it is found in *Math* and, secondly, in its Irish analogies. As it was not my intention to study the theme as a whole but merely to know enough of it to enable myself and my readers to reconstruct the probable form of the original tale on which *Math* rests, I have not compared it with the variants found in other countries. It will be a convenience, however, if the subject is lightly touched on in this Appendix. The complete legend does not exist in any mythology or folklore, but different features of it are found in many countries, and there is good reason to believe that it was Oriental in origin; at least, that Oriental tradition has preserved it in an unusually complete form. Vestiges of it are found associated with the history of King Sargon of Babylon; it appears in Egypt in the account of *The wonderful birth of the Children of Re*;<sup>3</sup> the Rabbinic traditions of the dream of Nimrod and Nimrod's attempts to kill Abraham<sup>4</sup> contain undoubted traces of it; the story of Moses has it in a very clear form, and the Matthew account of the birth of Jesus presently to be noticed has many interesting features which may be referred to the same tradition. Herodotus's account of Cyrus is a type, and in Greek tradition the history of Danaë and perhaps of Oedipus. Finally there is the chapter in Justinus's *History* on Gargoris and Habidis.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I had intended to print here a selection of texts illustrating the theme of the *King and his Prophetied Death*, but I found that it would be impossible without adding considerably to the size of the book. The theme is partly dealt with in the *Legend of Perseus*, but altogether from the standpoint of the anthropologist.

<sup>3</sup> *Altorientalische Texte*, I, pp. 222-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Jewish Encyclopedia*, sub *Abraham* and *Nimrod*.

<sup>5</sup> *Historiae Philippicae*, Book XXIV, chap. 4.

§324. A short summary of Herodotus's account of Cyrus will give some idea of the general features of the theme :

Astyages [594 B.C.] was king of Media, and had a daughter called Mandane. He had a dream that his daughter's son would be master of Asia, so he married her to a man called Cambyses, [whose family he could keep under his eye]. When she was pregnant, he sent for her, and when she gave birth to a boy, Astyages gave the child to Harpagus with orders to kill it. Harpagus, instead of killing the child, gave it to a herdsman who was to expose it and satisfy Harpagus that it was dead. But the herdsman's wife gave birth to a still-born child, and they substituted this child for the child of Mandane, and so he was reared as the son of the herdsman *but was not yet called Cyrus*. [He was then, according to Strabo, called Agradates]. When he was ten years old his parentage was discovered thus. In playing with the boys of the village, one of them disobeyed his command, and Cyrus ordered him to be beaten. The boy's father complained to Astyages, who sent for Agradates and discovered in him his daughter's son. Later Harpagus, who had been punished by Astyages, made a party in the Kingdom in favour of Cyrus, inciting Cyrus to take revenge upon his grand-father. Cyrus called the Persians together, and was chosen as their leader. A battle was fought between him and Astyages and he was defeated by Cyrus and taken prisoner in 559 B.C. Cyrus treated Astyages well but kept him under surveillance until his death.

§325. The legend of Danaë is well known :

An oracle had declared that Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos, would give birth to a son who would kill his grandfather. For this reason the king

kept Danaë shut up in a subterranean apartment, or, (according to some versions), in a brazen tower. Here, notwithstanding the precautions of her father, she became the mother of Perseus. The father of her son was, according to some, her uncle, and according to others Zeus who visited her in the form of a shower of gold. Acrisius ordered mother and child to be exposed on the sea in a chest, but the chest floated away and they were rescued. Zeus caused it to land in the island of Seriphos where Dictys, a fisherman, found them and carried them to his brother the king. King Polydectes made Danaë his slave and courted her favour, but in vain, so he sent off Perseus to the Gorgons to fetch the head of Medusa. On his way back he saved and married Andromeda. Acrisius, hearing of Perseus's feats, went to Polydectes, and Perseus promised not to kill his grandfather. Acrisius, however, was detained in Seriphos and during that time, Polydectes died. During the funeral games the wind carried the disc thrown by Perseus against the head of Acrisius and killed him, and so Perseus became King of Argos. Pausanias's version is that when the king of Larissa was celebrating games in honour of his friend Acrisius, Perseus accidentally hit the foot of Acrisius and thus killed him. So the prophecy was fulfilled.

§326. The story of Moses is, perhaps, the most satisfactory of all as a variant of our theme. According to *Exodus* :

(1) A new king had arisen in Egypt who oppressed the Hebrews.

(2) King Pharaoh commanded two Hebrew midwives, Shiphrah and Puah to watch the births of all Hebrew children. If the child was a boy, he was to be killed ; girls were to be allowed to live.

(3) The midwives disobeyed, and so God was good to them. But Pharaoh made houses for them so that they should be under his eye.<sup>6</sup>

(4) Pharaoh then ordered all the people to throw into the river every boy that was born, but to keep alive the girls.

(5) A wife of a man of the house of Levi gave birth to a child ; and she hid him for three months. When she could conceal him no longer she placed him in a basket, and placed the basket among the bulrushes on the river-edge. His sister guarded him from afar.

(6) Pharaoh's daughter came to the river to bathe, and took an interest in the child. Her hand-maidens kept guard while she bathed.

(7) On the suggestion of the sister, Pharaoh's daughter adopted the child, and gave it in fosterage to his own mother.

(8) When he grew up he was taken to Pharaoh's daughter, and " he was a son to her."

(9) *Not till then did he get a name.* Pharaoh's daughter called him Moses.

(10) Moses killed an Egyptian who had struck a Hebrew. In a subsequent quarrel this is thrown in Moses's teeth.

(11) Pharaoh, when he heard this, tried to kill Moses.

(12) Moses fled into the land of Midian and took refuge there with Jethro, a priest of Midian, whose daughter he married.

(13) Later Moses delivered the children of Israel from Egypt, and caused the death of Pharaoh.

<sup>6</sup> The verse (*Exodus* i. 21) in the A.V. reads: "And it came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that *he* made houses for them." I owe to Professor Deich the suggestion that 'he' here refers, not to God, but to Pharaoh.

§327. Here, it is evident, we find nearly all the features of the *King and his Propheted Death*. We have, however, to consider first in what respects the legend of Moses has been altered and corrupted during the time it was orally handed down up to the point when it became literature in the *Book of Exodus*. Mark Twain, in one of his books, humorously throws doubt on the good-will of Pharaoh's daughter, and suggests that she herself was the mother of Moses. Many others, by no means serious students of the legend, have expressed the same doubt. It is however probable that we have in the early history of Moses an old Egyptian legend borrowed by the writers of Exodus, and altered so as to adapt it to Jewish sensibilities. Gressmann, who was apparently ignorant of the world-wide distribution of the tradition, has correctly argued that Moses was the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and that there was a prophecy<sup>7</sup> that Pharaoh's daughter would bear a son who would overturn his kingdom, and that the command to drown the Hebrew children is out of its place. It was not intended to lessen the number of the Hebrews, but to secure the death of his daughter's child,<sup>8</sup> [who, it may be added, was being brought up by his Hebrew father's family].

§328. Gressmann further compares a fragment of verse in which King Sargon, the first Semitic king of Babylon, recounts his own history :

Sargon the mighty King,  
the King of Akkad am I.

<sup>7</sup> Das älteste Zeugnis findet sich bei Josephus: Dem Pharao wird eines Tages von seinen Wahrsagern gemeldet, bei den Hebräern solle Iemand geboren werden, der Aegypten demütigen, sein Volk aber zur Macht bringen werde. *Mose und seine Zeit*, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Von, hieraus lässt sich nun die *ursprüngliche Exposition* der Mose-Sage mit Sicherheit rekonstruieren. Der Pharao fürchtet nicht die Uebervölkerung, sondern einzig und allein den Mose, wie noch aus der gegenwärtigen Fassung deutlich zu erkennen ist. *Mose und seine Zeit*, p. 5.



My mother was poor,  
my father knew I not,  
my father's brother lives in the mountains.  
My city is Azupiranu,  
lying on the bank of the Euphrates.  
My poor mother conceived me,  
in secret she bore me,  
placed me in a chest of reeds,  
fastened my door with pitch,  
and gave me to the river which was not strong.  
Then the river bore me along  
to Akki, the sprinkler (*Begiesser*)<sup>9</sup> it brought me,  
Akki, the sprinkler, took me out  
with a grappling-iron.  
Akki, the sprinkler, took me for his son  
and reared me.  
Akki, the sprinkler, made me  
into his gardener.  
While I was gardener,  
Ishtar loved me.<sup>10</sup>

§329. The original legend of Moses then, would be somewhat as follows :<sup>11</sup>

A new Pharaoh had arisen in Egypt who oppressed the Hebrews. His soothsayers prophesied that a child would be born to Pharaoh's daughter of a Hebrew father who would overturn Pharaoh's kingdom and cause his death. Pharaoh thereupon guarded his daughter. Even when she went to bathe in the river, she was surrounded by attendants.<sup>12</sup> But a man of the tribe of Levi, in spite

<sup>9</sup> Rather perhaps, "the water-carrier."

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>11</sup> I have not given here the arguments on which I base this reconstruction. They are in every respect similar to those used in dealing with *Math*. <sup>12</sup> *Exodus*, ii, 5.

of all difficulties, gained access to her, and begat a child. When Pharaoh knew that his daughter was pregnant, he commanded the midwives to drown the child, if it should be a boy. Two children were born, a boy and a girl. The girl was spared, and the midwives, seeing that the child was comely,<sup>13</sup> spared him also, but placed him in a basket made of reeds and pitch, and placed the basket on the river Nile. The basket drifted on the river and came to a far land, where the child was rescued, and brought up by a priest. He grew up in the priest's household and married his daughter.<sup>14</sup> The young man had no name, so he set out to Egypt to get a name from his mother. He came to Pharaoh's court, and Pharaoh's daughter adopted him, not knowing that he was her own child, and gave him his name Moses. One day Moses quarrelled with an Egyptian who had struck a Hebrew and killed him. This brought him under Pharaoh's notice,<sup>15</sup> and Pharaoh recognised in him his own grandson. He made many unsuccessful attempts to kill him, and Moses became the leader of the Israelites,<sup>16</sup> in a revolt against the king. When the Israelites, successful in their revolt, left Egypt, Moses inveigled his grandfather into the Red Sea, where, with God's help, he was drowned, thus suffering the very death which he had designed for his grandson.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, ii, 2.

<sup>14</sup> I believe that the Hero's marriage is an essential part of these stories. It is not a mere accident that made the Lugnassad important in Ireland. In the *Perseus* legend, too, Perseus marries when he is in refuge in a foreign country.

<sup>15</sup> I feel certain that my reconstruction is right here. The Cyrus legend quoted above, together with many instances of the child Finn quarrelling with his playfellows and so drawing the attention of his grandfather, confirms it.

<sup>16</sup> Just as Cyrus became the leader of the Persians against the Medes.

§330. The account in the *Gospel according to Matthew* of the birth of Jesus may be summarised as follows :

(1) From Abraham, through King David, the genealogy is given of Joseph "the husband of Mary, of whom Jesus was born." The old Syriac, and according to Nestle,<sup>17</sup> the archetype of some codices read :

"Joseph, to whom Mary was plighted as a maiden, begat Jesus."

(2) There were ancient prophecies that a Messiah would arise from the seed of David to deliver Israel from its oppressors.

(3) The King of the country, Herod, inquires of the Wise Men about the birth of the Child, pretending that he, like them, wishes to go and worship him.

(4) The Wise Men disobey Herod, who orders all the male children in the country to be killed.

(5) Joseph takes his son to Egypt to conceal him.

(6) It should be noted that the Messiah's *name* is part of the prophecy.

§331. A comparison of these and other similar legends will lead us to the conclusion that the essential features of *The King and his prophesied Death* are :

(1) The King is an oppressor, a *gormes*. He is of different blood from "us,"—the oppressed nation with which the reader is expected to sympathise. He may be, like Balor, the leader of a foreign invasion, or as the Welsh Beli, who is described as of the *Coraniaid*;<sup>18</sup> or he may be a new ruler like Pharaoh, oppressing a subject race of different blood ; or he may be like Herod the representative of a hated foreign nation.

<sup>17</sup> *Novum Testamentum*, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> See *THSC*, 1892-3, p. 90.

(2) There is a prophecy that a son will be born to the king's daughter, whose father will be of the oppressed people, (in typical forms, from the old royal line that is thought to have been exterminated). So Lugh is of the family of Dôn ; Lleu is the son of one of the family of Dôn ; Moses is the son of a Hebrew of the princely tribe of Levi ; the genealogy of Jesus is traced to the House of David.

(3) The prophecy states that the child will be called a certain name and will kill the oppressor, his grandfather.

(4) The grandfather seeks to keep his daughter a virgin. Acrisius keeps her in a brazen tower, Balor also shuts her in a tower, Math (Beli) makes her his foot-holder.

(5) In spite of all precautions a man from the oppressed people gains access to the king's daughter.

(6) The king, hearing of his daughter's pregnancy, suborns the midwives or other persons concerned, to inform him of the birth, or to kill the child themselves. The midwives either disobey the king's command, or fail to carry it out. (Irish, Cyrus, Moses, Matthew).

(7) The child is born, and exposed by the king ; or the king seeks to kill all the children of the same age ; or the king tries to drown the child.

(8) The child is saved by his father and taken to a far country, or at least away from the power of the king. The far-country feature varies greatly. The child may be simply taken away as in *Matthew* and in the secondary legend of Moses going to Midian, but commonly, the box in which he is placed, either by his people to save him or by his enemies to expose him, drifts on the sea to a far country where the child is brought up. In many versions, a box is prominent in which the child is kept

in safety. In the legend of Moses, there seems to be a combination of the two themes of the attempted drowning and the preservation in a box. So also in the legend of Cyrus and of Perseus.

(9) The child has no name. There is possibly a variety of reasons for this feature. The Welsh version, as we deduced it in  $\Sigma$ , is perhaps a secondary development. On the other hand, the reason there given for withholding a name may be the original reason which was lost in all other versions.

(10) The child on growing up receives a name. He should receive it from his grandfather or, in secondary versions, from his mother.

(11) The son takes the part of the oppressed people, and finally overcomes and slays his grandfather.

(12) I suggest that the occasion of the fulfilment of the prophecy is the son's marriage. This is, of course, clear in the Lugh-Lleu example, but may also underlie the legend of Perseus and of Moses.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The whole subject is treated in detail in a paper which was read by the author before the *Old Testament Society*, and which is now in the press.



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## II. WORDS.

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